HYMNS

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HYMNS

HYMNS

Their History and Development

IN THE

Greek and Latin Churches
Germany
and Great Britain

Palmer's

BY

ROUNDELL, EARL OF SELBORNE

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PREFACE

THIS volume is, with a few additions and variations, and with illustrations by selected hymns (accompanied, when not English, by translations), a reprint from Volume XII., published in 1881, of the last edition of the *Encyclopædia Britannica*.

HYMNS

1. Classical Hymnody

The word "hymn" (ὕμνος) was employed by the ancient Greeks to signify a song or poem composed in honour of gods, heroes, or famous men, or to be recited on some joyful, mournful, or solemn occasion. Polymnia was the name of their lyric muse. Homer makes Alcinous entertain Odysseus with a "hymn" of the minstrel Demodocus, on the capture of Troy by the wooden horse. The *Works and Days* of Hesiod begins with an invocation to the Muses to address hymns to Zeus, and in his *Theogonia* he speaks of them as singing or inspiring "hymns" to all the divinities, and of the bard as "their

servant, hymning the glories of men of old, and of the gods of Olympus." Pindar calls by this name odes, like his own, in praise of conquerors at the public games of Greece. The Athenian dramatists (Euripides most frequently) use the word and its cognate verbs in a similar manner; they also describe by them metrical oracles and apophthegms, martial, festal, and hymenæal songs, dirges, and lamentations or incantations of woe.

Hellenic hymns, according to this conception of them, have come down to us, some from a very early and others from a late period of Greek classical literature. Those which passed by the name of Homer were already old in the time of Thucydides. They are mythological poems (several of them long), in hexameter verse,—some very interesting. That to Apollo contains a traditionary history of the origin and progress of the Delphic worship; those on Hermes and on Dionysus are marked by much liveliness and poetical fancy. Hymns of a like general character, but of less interest (though these also embody some fine poetical tradi-

tions of the Greek mythology, such as the story of Tiresias, and that of the wanderings of Leto), were written in the third century before Christ, by Callimachus of Cyrene. Cleanthes, the successor of Zeno, composed (also in hexameters) an "excellent and devout hymn" (as it is justly called by Cudworth, in his *Intellectual System*) to Zeus, which is preserved in the *Eclogæ* of Stobæus, and from which Aratus borrowed the words, "For we are also His offspring," quoted by St. Paul at Athens. The so-called Orphic hymns, in hexameter verse, styled τελεταί, or hymns of initiation into the "mysteries" of the Hellenic religion, are productions of the Alexandrian school,—as to which learned men are not agreed whether they are earlier or later than the Christian era.

The Romans did not adopt the word "hymn"; nor have we many Latin poems of the classical age to which it can properly be applied. There are, however, a few which approach much more nearly than anything Hellenic to the form and character of modern hymnody.

Of these, the simplest and most graceful is the following of Catullus to Diana :—

Dianæ sumus in fide
Puellæ et pueri integri :
Dianam pueri integri
Puellæque canamus.

O Latonia, maximi
Magna progenies Jovis !
Quam mater prope Deliam
Deposivit olivam,

Montium domina ut fores,
Sylvarumque virentium,
Saltuumque reconditorum,
Amniumque sonantum :

Tu Lucina dolentibus
Juno dicta puerperis :
Tu potens Trivia, et notho es
Dicta lumine Luna.

Tu cursu, Dea, menstruo
Metiens iter annuum,
Rustica agricolæ bonis
Tecta frugibus exples.

Sis quocunque placet tibi
Sancta nomine ; Romulique
Antiquam, ut solita es, bona
Sospites ope gentem !

Dian's votaries are we,
Spotless boys and maidens free :
Unto Dian lift the voice,
Maidens and spotless boys.

Daughter of Latona's love,
Mighty child of mightiest Jove !

Whom thy mother bore and laid
In Delos' olive shade,

Of the mountains to be Queen
And of all the forests green,
And of the grassy solitudes,
And of the sounding floods;

Matrons in the throe of dread
Ask from thee Lucina's aid;
Thou art Trivia, name of might,
And Moon with borrowed light.

Goddess, thou in monthly race
Measuring out the long year's space,
Cheerest with the fruits of earth
The yeoman's rustic hearth.

Holy be thy name, whate'er
Please thee best! and may thy care
Still on old Rome's children pour
Blessings, as heretofore![1]

Another, of like character, is the twenty-first Ode of Horace's first book:—

Dianam teneræ dicite virgines,
Intonsum, pueri, dicite Cynthium,
Latonamque supremo
Dilectam penitus Jovi, etc.

Translated by Conington—

Of Dian's praises, tender maidens, tell;
Of Cynthus' unshorn God, young striplings, sing;
And bright Latona, well
Beloved of Heaven's high king, etc.

---

[1] Translated by the Author, in 1834.

2. Hebrew Hymnody

For the origin and idea of Christian hymnody we must look, not to Gentile, but to Hebrew sources.

In the Books of Chronicles, the history of the establishment by David [1] of three orders of singers and players upon musical instruments for the services of the Tabernacle (and afterwards, under Solomon and his successors, for the Temple [2]) is related. Their chiefs, Asaph, Heman, and Ethan or Jeduthun, represented the three families of the sons of Levi. They were "set in the house of the Lord, according to the commandment of David, and of Gad the king's seer, and of Nathan the prophet; for so was the commandment of the Lord by His prophets."[3] A prophetic office, as well as the title of "Seer," was ascribed to them.[4] They took part, playing upon their proper instruments, in the solemnity of bringing up the Ark to

[1] 1 Chron. vi. 31-47; xv. 16-24; xvi. 4-6, and 37-42; xxiii. 5; xxv. 1-7.
[2] 2 Chron. viii. 14. [3] 2 Chron. xxix. 25.
[4] 1 Chron. xxv. 1, 2, 5; 2 Chron. xxix. 30, xxxv. 15.

Mount Zion; and they sang on that occasion the whole or parts of three psalms (now numbered 105, 96, and 106) which "David delivered into the hand of Asaph and his brethren."[1] And when the Ark was in its place, they were appointed to minister continually before it, "as every day's work required," and "to *give thanks unto the Lord, because His mercy endureth for ever.*"[2] This is the refrain of every verse of the 136th psalm.[3] They also took part in the dedication of Solomon's Temple; and it was while they were singing the same psalm on that occasion, that the Divine glory was specially manifested. "It came to pass, when the priests were come out of the holy place: (for all the priests that were present were sanctified, and did not then wait by course; also the Levites which were the singers, all of them of Asaph, of Heman, of Jeduthun, with their sons and their brethren, being arrayed in white linen, having cymbals and psalteries and harps,

[1] 1 Chron. xvi. 7-36. [2] *Ibid.* 37-41.
[3] It is also the refrain of some verses of other psalms of later date: the 106th, 107th, and 118th.

stood at the east end of the altar, and with them an hundred and twenty priests sounding with trumpets:) it came even to pass, as the trumpeters and singers were as one, to make one sound to be heard in praising and thanking the Lord, saying, *For He is good; for His mercy endureth for ever:* that then the house was filled with a cloud, even the house of the Lord; so that the priests could not stand to minister by reason of the cloud: for the glory of the Lord had filled the house of God."[1]

The same psalm was one of those sung before the army of Jehoshaphat, when Judea was delivered from the invasion, in that king's time, of the Moabites, Ammonites, and Edomites.[2] And after the return from the Captivity, when the foundation of the second Temple was laid, "they sang together by course in praising and giving thanks unto the Lord; *because He is good, and His mercy endureth for ever.*"[3]

The Psalms, as we now have them, are

[1] 2 Chron. v. 11-14.

[2] 2 Chron. xx. 21. They also "*praised the beauty of holiness*" (see Psalm xcvi. 9).

[3] Ezra iii. 11.

of different times and authorships, though the name of David is given to the whole book. They were all used in the Temple services; some of them, in their Hebrew titles, contain musical directions; and some are addressed to particular companies of the singers.

The modern distinction between psalms and hymns is arbitrary. The former word was used by the LXX. as a generic designation, probably because it implied an accompaniment by the psaltery (said by Eusebius to have been of very ancient use in the East) or other instruments. The psalms were undoubtedly sung to the music of trumpets, cymbals, and other instruments, called in the Greek translation "cinyra" and "nabla," in the English "harp" and "psaltery." The cognate verb "psallere" has been constantly applied to hymns, both in the Eastern and in the Western Church; and the same compositions which they described generically as "psalms" were also called by the LXX. "odes" (*i.e.* songs) and "hymns." The latter word occurs, *e.g.*, in Ps. lxxii. 20 ("the hymns of David the son of Jesse"),

in Ps. lxv. 1, and also in the Greek titles of the 6th, 54th, 55th, 67th, and 76th.[1] The 44th chapter of Ecclesiasticus, "Let us now praise famous men," etc., is entitled in the Greek πατέρων ὕμνος, "The Fathers' Hymn." Bede speaks of the whole book of Psalms as called "liber hymnorum," by the universal consent of Hebrews, Greeks, and Latins.

The Psalms have always had an important place in the public and private devotions of Christians. No other part of the Scriptures of the Old Testament has so universally influenced the current of religious feeling. From them Christian hymnody has derived two characteristics, to which there is nothing parallel in heathen poetry. The first is their living spirituality, their intense realisation of a direct personal relation between the individual human soul and God. The other is their vivid exhibition of a pervading harmony between natural and revealed religion,—not only in particular instances (such as Psalms 19, 29, 65, 104, 148), but throughout the book. The Object of Faith is seen in them, not only as the Life-giver and Lord of the

[1] As numbered in the English version.

spirits of men, but as the Governor of the world, the Maker of all things, revealing, by "the things which are seen," "His invisible things, even His eternal power and Godhead."[1]

In the New Testament we find our Lord and His apostles singing a hymn (ὑμνήσαντες ἐξῆλθον) after the institution of the Lord's Supper; St. Paul and Silas doing the same (ὕμνουν τὸν θεόν) in their prison at Philippi; St. James recommending psalm-singing (ψαλλέτω), and St. Paul "psalms and hymns and spiritual songs" (ψαλμοῖς καὶ ὕμνοις καὶ ᾠδαῖς πνευματικαῖς). St. Paul also, in the 14th chapter of the first epistle to the Corinthians, speaks of singing (ψαλῶ), and of every man's psalm (ἕκαστος ὑμῶν ψαλμὸν ἔχει), in a context which plainly has reference to the assemblies of the Corinthian Christians for common worship. All the words thus used were applied by the LXX. to the Davidical psalms; it is therefore possible that these only may be intended, in the places referred to. But there are in St. Paul's epistles several

[1] Romans i. 20.

passages (Eph. v. 14; 1 Tim. iii. 16; 1 Tim. vi. 15, 16; 2 Tim. ii. 11, 12) which have so much of the form and character of later Oriental hymnody as to have been supposed by Michaelis and others to be extracts from original hymns of the Apostolic age. Two of them are apparently introduced as quotations, though not found elsewhere in the Scriptures. A third has not only rhythm, but rhyme. The thanksgiving prayer of the assembled disciples, recorded in Acts iv., is both in substance and in manner poetical; and in the Canticles, "Magnificat," "Benedictus," etc., which manifestly followed the form and style of Hebrew poetry, hymns or songs, proper for liturgical use, have always been recognised by the Church.

St. Augustine's definition of a hymn, generally accepted by Christian antiquity, may be summed up in the words, "praise to God with song" ("cum cantico"). Bede understood the "canticum" as properly requiring metre; though he thought that what in its original language was a true hymn might retain that character in an unmetrical translation. Modern use has enlarged the defini-

tion: Roman Catholic writers extend it to the praises of saints; and the word now comprehends rhythmical prose as well as verse, and prayer and spiritual meditation as well as praise.

3. Eastern Church Hymnody

The hymn of our Lord, the precepts of the apostles, the angelic song at the Nativity, and "Benedicite omnia opera," are referred to in a curious metrical prologue to the hymnary of the Mozarabic Breviary, as precedents for the practice of the Western Church. In this respect, however, the Western Church followed the Eastern, in which hymnody prevailed from the earliest times.

Philo describes the "Therapeutæ" of the neighbourhood of Alexandria as composers of original hymns, which (as well as old) were sung at their great religious festivals, —the people listening in silence till they came to the closing strains, or refrains, at the end of a hymn or stanza (the "acroteleutia" and "ephymnia"), in which all, women as well as men, heartily joined.

These songs, he says, were in various metres (for which he uses a number of technical terms); some were choral, some not; and they were divided into variously constructed strophes or stanzas.

Eusebius, who thought that the Therapeutæ were communities of Christians, says that the Christian practice of his own day was in exact accordance with this description. Gibbon considered it to be proved, by modern criticism, that the Therapeutæ were not Christians, but Essene Jews; but he recognised in their customs "a very lively image of primitive discipline"; and he states that the Christian religion was embraced by great numbers of them, and that they were probably, by degrees, absorbed into the Church, and became the fathers of the Egyptian ascetics. Apollos, "born at Alexandria," may possibly have been one of them.

The practice, not only of singing hymns, but of singing them antiphonally, appears, from the well-known letter of Pliny to Trajan, to have been established in the Bithynian churches at the beginning of the

second century. They were accustomed "stato die ante lucem convenire, carmenque Christo, quasi Deo, dicere *secum invicem*." This agrees well, in point of time, with the tradition recorded by the historian Socrates, that Ignatius (who suffered martyrdom about 107 A.D.) was led by a vision or dream of angels singing hymns in that manner to the Holy Trinity to introduce antiphonal singing into the Church of Antioch, from which it quickly spread to other churches. There seems to be an allusion to choral singing in the epistle of Ignatius himself to the Romans, where he exhorts them, "χορὸς γενόμενοι" ("having formed themselves into a choir"), to "sing praise to the Father in Christ Jesus." A statement of Theodoret has sometimes been supposed to refer the origin of antiphonal singing to a later date; but this seems to relate only to the singing of Old Testament psalms (τὴν Δανιδικὴν μελῳδίαν), the alternate chanting of which, by a choir divided into two parts, was (according to that statement) first introduced into the Church of Antioch by two monks famous in the history of their

time, Flavianus and Diodorus, under the emperor Constantius II.

Other evidence of the use of hymns in the second century is contained in a fragment of Hippolytus,[1] preserved by Eusebius, which refers to "all the psalms and odes written by faithful brethren from the beginning," as "hymning Christ, the Word of God, as God." Tertullian also, in his description of the "Agapæ," or love-feasts, of his day, says that, after washing hands and bringing in lights, each man was invited to come forward and sing to God's praise something either taken from the Scriptures or of his own composition ("ut quisque de Sacris Scripturis vel proprio ingenio potest"). Bishop Bull believed one of those primitive compositions to be the hymn appended by Clement of Alexandria to his *Pædagogus*;

[1] Hippolytus was Bishop of Porto in the earlier part of the third century. The fragment appears under the name of Caius in Dr. Routh's *Reliquiæ Sacræ* (vol. ii. pp. 129, 130). But Dr. Routh's own opinion seems to have been, that Hippolytus was its true author (*ibid.* pp. 143, 145), and that opinion has been confirmed by more recent criticism. (See Bishop Christopher Wordsworth's *St. Hippolytus and the Church of Rome*, pp. 129, 161, 162.)

and Archbishop Ussher considered the ancient morning and evening hymns, of which the use was enjoined by the *Apostolical Constitutions*, and which are also mentioned in the tract "On Virginity" printed with the works of St. Athanasius, and in St. Basil's treatise upon the Holy Spirit, to belong to the same family. Clement's hymn, in a short anapæstic metre, beginning στόμιον πώλων ἀδαῶν (or, according to some editions, βασιλεῦ ἁγίων, λόγε πανδαμάτωρ —translated by Mr. Chatfield, "O Thou, the King of saints, all-conquering Word"), is rapid, spirited, and well adapted for singing. The Greek "Morning Hymn" (which, as divided into verses by Archbishop Ussher in his treatise *De Symbolis*, has a majestic rhythm, resembling a choric or dithyrambic strophe) is the original form of "Gloria in Excelsis," still said or sung, with some variations, in the liturgies of the Oriental, Latin, and Anglican Churches. The Latin form of this hymn (of which that in the English communion office is an exact translation) is said, by Bede and other ancient writers, to have been brought into use at

Rome by Pope Telesphorus, as early as the time of the emperor Hadrian. A third, the Vesper or "Lamp-lighting" hymn ("φῶς ἱλαρὸν ἁγίας δόξης"—translated by Canon Bright, "Light of Gladness, Beam Divine"), holds its place to this day in the services of the Greek rite. In the third century Origen seems to have had in his mind the words of some other hymns or hymn of like character when he says (in his treatise *Against Celsus*): "We glorify in hymns God and His only begotten Son; as do also the Sun, the Moon, the Stars, and all the host of heaven. All these, in one Divine chorus, with the just among men, glorify in hymns God who is over all, and His only begotten Son." So highly were these compositions esteemed in the Syrian churches that the council which deposed Paul of Samosata from the see of Antioch in the time of Aurelian justified that act, in its synodical letter to the bishops of Rome and Alexandria, on this ground (among others) that he had prohibited the use of hymns of that kind, by uninspired writers, addressed to Christ.

After the conversion of Constantine, the

progress of hymnody became closely connected with church controversies. There had been in Edessa, at the end of the second or early in the third century, a Gnostic writer of ability, named Bardesanes, who was succeeded, as the head of his sect or school, by his son Harmonius. Both father and son wrote hymns, and set them to agreeable melodies, which acquired, and in the fourth century still retained, much local popularity. Ephraem Syrus, the first voluminous hymn-writer whose works remain to us, thinking that the same melodies might be made useful to the faith if adapted to more orthodox words, composed to them a large number of hymns in the Syriac language, principally in tetrasyllabic, pentasyllabic, and heptasyllabic metres, divided into strophes of from 4 to 12, 16, and even 20 lines each. When a strophe contained five lines, the fifth was generally an "ephymnium," detached in sense, and consisting of a prayer, invocation, doxology, or the like to be sung antiphonally, either in full chorus or by a separate part of the choir. The *Syriac Chrestomathy* of Hahn (published

at Leipsic in 1825), and the third volume of Daniel's *Thesaurus Hymnologicus*, contain specimens of these hymns. Some of them have been translated into (unmetrical) English by the Rev. Henry Burgess.[1] A considerable number of those so translated are on subjects connected with death, resurrection, judgment, etc., and display not only Christian faith and hope, but much simplicity and tenderness of natural feeling. Theodoret speaks of the spiritual songs of Ephraem as very sweet and profitable, and as adding much, in his (Theodoret's) time, to the brightness of the commemorations of martyrs in the Syrian Church.

The Greek hymnody contemporary with Ephraem followed, with some licence, classical models. One of its favourite metres was the Anacreontic; but it also made use of the short anapæstic, ionic, iambic, and other lyrical measures, as well as the hexameter and pentameter. Its principal authors were Methodius, Bishop of Tyre (who died about 311 A.D.), Synesius, who

[1] *Select Metrical Hymns of Ephrem Syrus*, etc., 1853.

became Bishop of Ptolemais in Cyrenaica in 410, and Gregory Nazianzen, for a short time (380-381) patriarch of Constantinople. The merits of these writers have been perhaps too much depreciated by the admirers of the later Greek "Melodists." They have found an able English translator in the Rev. Allen Chatfield.[1] Among the most striking of their works are *μνώεο Χριστέ* ("Lord Jesus, think of me"), by Synesius; *σὲ τὸν ἄφθιτον μονάρχην* ("O Thou, the One Supreme") and *τί σοι θέλεις γενέσθαι* ("O soul of mine, repining"), by Gregory; also *ἄνωθεν παρθένοι* ("The Bridegroom cometh") by Methodius. There continued to be Greek metrical hymn writers, in a similar style, till a much later date. Sophronius, patriarch of Jerusalem in the seventh century, wrote seven Anacreontic hymns; and St. John Damascene, one of the most copious of the second school of "Melodists," was also the author of some long compositions in trimeter iambics.

An important development of hymnody

[1] *Songs and Hymns of Earliest Greek Christian Poets*, etc., London, 1876.

at Constantinople arose out of the Arian controversy. Early in the fourth century Athanasius had rebuked, not only the doctrine of Arius, but the light character of certain hymns by which he endeavoured to make that doctrine popular. When, towards the close of that century (A.D. 398), St. John Chrysostom was raised to the metropolitan see, the Arians, who were still numerous at Constantinople, had no places of worship within the walls; but they were in the habit of coming into the city at sunset on Saturdays, Sundays, and the greater festivals, and congregating in the porticoes and other places of public resort, where they sang, all night through, antiphonal songs, with "acroteleutia" (closing strains, or refrains), expressive of Arian doctrine, often accompanied by taunts and insults to the orthodox. Chrysostom was apprehensive that this music might draw some of the simpler church people to the Arian side; he therefore organised, in opposition to it, under the patronage and at the cost of Eudoxia, the Empress of Arcadius (then his friend), a system of nightly processional

hymn-singing, with silver crosses, wax-lights, and other circumstances of ceremonial pomp. Riots followed, with bloodshed on both sides, and with some personal injury to the Empress's chief eunuch, who seems to have officiated as conductor or director of the church musicians. This led to the suppression, by an imperial edict, of all public Arian singing; while in the church the practice of nocturnal hymn-singing on certain solemn occasions, thus first introduced, remained an established institution.

It is not improbable that some rudiments of the peculiar system of hymnody which now prevails throughout the Greek communion, and whose affinities are rather to the Hebrew and Syriac than to the classical forms, may have existed in the Church of Constantinople, even at that time. Anatolius, patriarch of Constantinople in the middle of the fifth century, was the precursor of that system; but the reputation of being its proper founder belongs to Romanus, of whom little more is known than that he wrote hymns still extant, and lived towards the end of that century. The importance

of that system in the services of the Greek Church may be understood from the fact that the late Dr. Neale computed four-fifths of the whole space (about 5000 pages) contained in the different service-books of that church to be occupied by hymnody, all in a language or dialect which has ceased to be spoken.

The system has a peculiar technical terminology, in which the words "troparion," "ode," "canon," and "hirmus" (εἱρμος) chiefly require explanation.

The *troparion* is the unit of the system, being a strophe or stanza, seen, when analysed, to be divisible into verses or clauses, with regulated cæsuras, but printed in the books as a single prose sentence. The following, from a "canon" by John Mauropus, in the *Horologion* (published at Venice in 1845), may be taken as an example:—τὸν ἄγρυπνον φύλακα τῆς ἐμῆς | ψυχῆς καὶ προστάτην, | τῆς ζωῆς μου καὶ ὁδηγὸν, | Θεόθεν ὃν ἔλαχον, ὑμνῶ σε, | Ἄγγελε Θεῖε Θεοῦ παντοκράτορος—"The never-sleeping Guardian, | the patron of my soul, | the guide of my life, | allotted me

by God, I hymn thee, | Divine Angel of Almighty God." Dr. Neale and most other writers regard all these "troparia" as rhythmical or modulated prose. Cardinal J. B. Pitra, on the other hand, who in 1867 and 1876 published two learned works on this subject, maintains that they are really metrical, and governed by definite rules of prosody, of which he lays down sixteen. According to him, each "troparion" contains from three to thirty-three verses; each verse varies from two to thirteen syllables, often in a continuous series, uniform, alternate, or reciprocal, the metre being always syllabic, and depending, not on the quantity of vowels or the position of consonants, but on a harmonic series of accents.

In various parts of the services solitary troparia are sung, under various names, "contacion," "œcos," etc., which mark distinctions either in their character or in their use.

An *ode* is a song or hymn compounded of several similar "troparia,"—usually three, four, or five. To these is always prefixed a typical or standard "troparion," called the

hirmus, by which the syllabic measure, the periodic series of accents, and in fact the whole structure and rhythm of the stanzas which follow it are regulated. Each succeeding "troparion" in the same "ode" contains the same number of verses, and of syllables in each verse, and similar accents on the same or equivalent syllables. The "hirmus" may either form the first stanza of the "ode" itself, or (as is more frequently the case) may be taken from some other piece; and, when so taken, it is often indicated by initial words only, without being printed at length. It is generally printed within commas, after the proper rubric of the "ode." A hymn in irregular "stichera" or stanzas, without a "hirmus," is called "idiomelon." A system of three or four odes is "triodion" or "tetraodion."

A *canon* is a system of eight (theoretically nine) connected odes, the second being always suppressed. Various pauses, relieved by the interposition of other short chants or readings, occur during the singing of a whole "canon." The final "troparion" in each ode of the series is not unfrequently

detached in sense (like the "ephymnia" of Ephraem Syrus), particularly when it is in the (very common) form of a "theotokion," or ascription of praise to the mother of our Lord, and when it is a recurring refrain or burden.

There were two principal periods of Greek hymnography constructed on these principles, — the first that of Romanus and his followers, extending over the sixth and seventh centuries; the second that of the schools which arose during the Iconoclastic controversy in the eighth century, and which continued for some centuries afterwards, until the art itself died out.

The works of the writers of the former period were collected in *Tropologia*, or church hymn-books, which were held in high esteem till the tenth century, when they ceased to be regarded as church-books, and fell into neglect. They are now preserved only in a very small number of manuscripts. From three of these, belonging to public libraries at Moscow, Turin, and Rome, Cardinal Pitra has lately printed,

in his *Analecta*, a number of interesting examples, the existence of which appears to have been unknown to the late learned Dr. Neale, and which, in the Cardinal's estimation, are in many respects superior to the "canons," etc., of the present Greek service-books, from which all Dr. Neale's translations (except some from Anatolius) are taken. Cardinal Pitra's selections include twenty-nine works by Romanus, and some by Sergius, and nine other known, as well as some unknown, authors. He describes them as having generally a more dramatic character than the "melodies" of the later period, and a much more animated style; and he supposes that they may have been originally sung with dramatic accompaniments, by way of substitution for the theatrical performances of Pagan times. As an instance of their peculiar character, he mentions a Christmas or Epiphany hymn by Romanus, in twenty-five long strophes, in which there is, first, an account of the Nativity and its accompanying wonders, and then a dialogue between the wise men, the Virgin mother, and Joseph. The magi arrive, are admitted,

describe the moral and religious condition of Persia and the East, and the cause and adventures of their journey, and then offer their gifts. The Virgin intercedes for them with her Son, instructs them in some parts of Jewish history, and ends with a prayer for the salvation of the world.

The controversies and persecutions of the eighth and succeeding centuries turned the thoughts of the "melodists" of the great monasteries of the Studium at Constantinople and St. Saba in Palestine and their followers, and those of the adherents of the Greek rite in Sicily and South Italy (who suffered much from the Saracens and Normans), into a less picturesque but more strictly theological course; and the influence of those controversies, in which the final success of the cause of "Icons" was largely due to the hymns as well as to the courage and sufferings of these confessors, was probably the cause of their supplanting, as they did, the works of the older school. Cardinal Pitra gives them the praise of having discovered a graver and more solemn style of chant, and of having done much to fix the

dogmatic theology of their church upon its present lines of near approach to the Roman.

Among the "melodists" of this latter Greek school there were many saints of the Greek Church, several patriarchs, and two emperors—Leo the Philosopher, and Constantine Porphyrogenitus, his son. Their greatest poets were Theodore and Joseph of the Studium, and Cosmas and John (called Damascene) of St. Saba. Dr. Neale has translated into English verse several selected portions, or centos, from the works of these and others, together with four from earlier works by Anatolius. Some of his translations—particularly "The day is past and over," from Anatolius, and "Christian, dost thou see them," from Andrew of Crete—have been adopted into hymn-books used in many English churches; and the hymn "Art thou weary," etc., which is rather founded upon than translated from one by Stephen the Sabaite, has obtained still more general popularity.[1]

[1] The older learning on the subject of Greek hymnody and church music is collected in a disserta-

4. Western Church Hymnody

It was not till the fourth century that Greek hymnody was imitated in the West, where its introduction was due to two great lights of the Latin Church — St. Hilary of Poitiers and St. Ambrose of Milan.

Hilary was banished from his see of Poitiers in 356, and was absent from it for about four years, which he spent in Asia Minor, taking part during that time in one of the councils of the Eastern Church. He thus had full opportunity of becoming acquainted with the Greek church music of that day; and he wrote (as St. Jerome, who was thirty years old when he died, and who was well acquainted with his acts and writings, and spent some time in or near his diocese, informs us) a "book of hymns," to

tion prefixed to the second volume for June of the Bollandists' *Acta Sanctorum*; the more recent in Cardinal Pitra's *Hymnographie de l'Église Grecque* (Rome, 1867), and *Analecta Sacra*, etc. (Paris, 1876); in the *Anthologia Græca Carminum Christianorum* (Leipsic, 1871); and in Dr. Daniel's *Thesaurus Hymnologicus*. There is also an able paper on Cardinal Pitra's works, by M. Emmanuel Miller, in the *Journal des Savants* for 1876.

one of which Jerome particularly refers in the preface to the second book of his own commentary on the Epistle to the Galatians. Isidore, Archbishop of Seville, who presided over the fourth council of Toledo, in his book on the offices of the Church, speaks of Hilary as the first Latin hymn-writer; that council itself, in its thirteenth canon, and the prologue to the Mozarabic hymnary (which is little more than a versification of the canon), associate his name, in this respect, with that of Ambrose. A tradition, ancient and widely spread, ascribed to him the authorship of the remarkable "*Hymnum dicat turba fratrum, hymnum cantus personet*" ("Band of brethren, raise the hymn, let your song the hymn resound"), which is a succinct narrative, in hymnal form, of the whole Gospel history, and is perhaps the earliest example of a strictly didactic hymn. Both Bede and Hincmar much admired this composition, though the former does not mention, in connection with it, the name of Hilary. The private use of hymns of such a character by Christians in the West may probably have preceded their ecclesiastical

use ; for Jerome says that in his day those who went into the fields might hear "the ploughman at his hallelujahs, the mower at his hymns, and the vine-dresser singing David's psalms." Besides this, seven shorter metrical hymns attributed to Hilary are extant.

Of the part taken by Ambrose, not long after Hilary's death, in bringing the use of hymns into the Church of Milan, we have a contemporary account from his convert, St. Augustine. Justina, mother of the Emperor Valentinian, favoured the Arians, and desired to remove Ambrose from his see. The "devout people," of whom Augustine's mother Monica was one, combined to protect him, and kept guard in the church. "Then," says Augustine, "it was first appointed that, after the manner of the Eastern churches, hymns and psalms should be sung, lest the people should grow weary and faint through sorrow ; which custom has ever since been retained, and has been followed by almost all congregations in other parts of the world." He describes himself as moved to tears by the sweetness of these "hymns and canticles" :—"The voices flowed into my ears ;

the truth distilled into my heart; I overflowed with devout affections, and was happy." To this time, according to an uncertain but not improbable tradition which ascribed the composition of the "Te Deum" to Ambrose, and connected it with the conversion of Augustine, is to be referred the commencement of the use in the Church of that sublime unmetrical hymn.

It is not, however, to be assumed that the hymnody thus introduced by Ambrose was from the first used according to the precise order and method of the later Western ritual. To bring it into (substantially) that order and method appears to have been the work of St. Benedict. Walafridus Strabo, the earliest ecclesiastical writer on this subject (who lived at the beginning of the ninth century), says that Benedict, on the constitution of the religious order known by his name (about 530), appointed the Ambrosian hymns to be regularly sung in his offices for the canonical hours. Hence probably originated the practice of the Italian churches, and of others which followed their example, to sing certain hymns (Ambrosian,

or by the early successors of the Ambrosian school) daily throughout the week, at "Vespers," "Lauds," and "Nocturns," and on some days at "Compline" also—varying them with the different ecclesiastical seasons and festivals, commemorations of saints and martyrs, and other special offices. Different dioceses and religious houses had their own peculiarities of ritual, including such hymns as were approved by their several bishops or ecclesiastical superiors, varying in detail, but all following the same general method. The national rituals, which were first reduced into a form substantially like that which has since prevailed were probably those of Lombardy and of Spain, now known as the "Ambrosian" and the "Mozarabic." That of Spain was settled in the seventh century by Leander and Isidore, brothers, successively archbishops of Seville. It contained a copious hymnary, the original form of which may be regarded as canonically approved by the fourth council of Toledo (633). By the thirteenth canon of that council, an opinion (which even then found advocates) against the use in churches of

any hymns not taken from the Scriptures—apparently the same opinion which had been held by Paul of Samosata—was censured; and it was ordered that such hymns should be used in the Spanish as well as in the "Gallican" churches, the penalty of excommunication being denounced against all who might presume to reject them.[1]

The hymns of which the use was thus established and authorised were those which entered into the daily and other offices of the Church, afterwards collected in the

[1] In Mansi's text of the acts of this council (vol. x. pp. 616, 620, 623, 630), five canons (including the thirteenth and fourteenth, as to hymns) have "*Galliam*," etc., and "*Gallicanis*," where the marginal reading, from the Lucca manuscript, is "*Galliciam*," etc., and "*Gallicianis*." The forty-first canon has, in the text, "*in Galliciæ partibus.*" A Spanish council could not make canons for any Gallican churches, except those included in the Gothic kingdom of Spain. Those of Galicia, within the peninsula itself, and of Narbonne, on the other side of the Pyrenees, were in A.D. 633 within the Gothic kingdom. The fourth council of Toledo was attended by (among others) the Archbishop of Narbonne, and its canons were doubtless meant to extend to that province. (See Mansi's marginal note to canon 2 of the *third* council of Toledo, vol. ix. p. 993, where the word in the text is "*Gallæciæ*," and the note is "*vel Galliæ, sc. Narbonensis, ex parte duntaxat.*")

"Breviaries"; in which the hymns "proper" for "the week," and for "the season," continued for many centuries, with very few exceptions, to be derived from the earliest epoch of Latin Church poetry,—reckoning that epoch as extending from Hilary and Ambrose to the end of the pontificate of Gregory the Great. The "Ambrosian" music, to which those hymns were generally sung down to the time of Gregory, was more popular and congregational than the "Gregorian," which then came into use, and afterwards prevailed. In the service of the mass it was not the general practice, before the invention of sequences in the ninth century, to sing any hymns, except some from the Scriptures esteemed canonical, such as the "Song of the Three Children" ("*Benedicite omnia opera*"). But to this rule there were, according to Walafridus Strabo, some occasional exceptions; particularly in the case of Paulinus, patriarch of Aquileia under Charlemagne, himself a hymn-writer, who frequently used hymns, composed by himself or others, in the eucharistic office, especially in private masses.

Some of the hymns called "Ambrosian" (nearly 100 in number) are beyond all question by Ambrose himself, and the rest probably belong to his time or to the following century. Four, those beginning "*Æterne rerum conditor*" ("Dread Framer of the earth and sky"), "*Deus Creator omnium*" ("Maker of all things, glorious God"), '*Veni Redemptor Gentium*" ("Redeemer of the nations, come"), and "*Jam surgit hora tertia*" ("Christ at this hour was crucified"), are quoted as works of Ambrose by Augustine. These, and others by the hand of the same master, have the qualities most valuable in hymns intended for congregational use. They are short and complete in themselves; easy, and at the same time elevated in their expression and rhythm; terse and masculine in thought and language; and (though sometimes criticised as deficient in theological precision) simple, pure, and not technical in their rendering of the great facts and doctrines of Christianity, which they present in an objective and not a subjective manner. They have exercised a powerful influence, direct or indirect, upon

many of the best works of the same kind in all succeeding generations.

One example of them may be given, with Bishop Mant's version, which (if in some places inadequate) is the best in our language :—

Splendor Paternæ gloriæ
De luce lucem proferens,
Lux lucis et fons luminis,
Dies diem illuminans,

Verusque Sol, illabere
Micans nitore perpeti,
Jubarque Sancti Spiritus
Infunde nostris sensibus.

Votis vocemus et Patrem,
Patrem perennis gloriæ,
Patrem potentis gratiæ,
Culpam releget lubricam :

Confirmet actus strenuos,
Dentem retundat invidi,
Casus secundet asperos,
Donet gerendi gratiam.

Mentem gubernet, et regat
Castos fideli corpore ;
Fides calore ferveat ;
Fraudis venena nesciat.

Christusque nobis sit cibus ;
Potusque noster sit fides ;
Læti bibamus sobriam
Ebrietatem Spiritus.

Lætus dies hic transeat ;
Pudor sit ut diluculum ;
Fides velut meridies ;
Crepusculum mens nesciat.

Aurora cursus provehit,
Aurora totus prodeat
In Patre totus Filius,
Et totus in Verbo Pater.

Image of the Father's might,
Of His light essential ray,
Source of splendour, Light of light,
Day that dost illume the day ;
Shining with unsullied beam,
Sun of truth, descending stream ;
And upon our clouded sense
Pour Thy Spirit's influence !

Father ! Thee too we implore,
Father of Almighty grace,
Father of eternal power,
Taint of sin from us efface !
Every faithful act advance,
Turn to good each evil chance,
Blunt the sting of envy's tooth,
Keep us in the ways of truth !

Rule our minds, our actions form ;
Cleanse our hearts with chastity ;
Give us love sincere and warm,
Uprightness from falsehood free :
Christ, our living spring and meat,
Freely let us drink and eat ;
And our gladden'd souls imbue
With the Spirit's healthful dew,

Joy be ours the passing day;
Pureness like the morning's glow;
Faith as clear as noontide ray;
May the mind no twilight know!
Welcoming the dawning bright,
Thus, we pray, a holier Light
From th' Eternal Fountain drawn,
On our waken'd souls may dawn.

With the Ambrosian hymns are properly classed those of Hilary, and the contemporary works of Pope Damasus (who wrote two hymns in commemoration of saints), and of Prudentius, from whose *Cathemerina* ("Daily Devotions") and *Peristephana* ("Crown-songs for Martyrs")—all poems of considerable, some of great length—about twenty-eight hymns, found in various Breviaries, were derived. Prudentius was a layman, a native of Saragossa, and it was in the Spanish ritual that his hymns were most largely used. In the Mozarabic Breviary almost the whole of one of his finest poems (from which most churches took one part only, beginning "*Corde natus ex Parentis*") was appointed to be sung between Easter and Ascension-Day, being divided into eight or nine hymns; and on some of the commemorations of Spanish saints long

poems from his *Peristephana* were recited or sung at large. He is entitled to a high rank among Christian poets, many of the hymns taken from his works being full of fervour and sweetness, and by no means deficient in dignity or strength.

These writers were followed in the fifth and early in the sixth century by the priest Sedulius, whose reputation perhaps exceeded his merit; Elpis, a noble Roman lady, wife of the philosophic statesman Boethius; Pope Gelasius; and Ennodius, Bishop of Pavia. Sedulius and Elpis wrote very little from which hymns could be extracted; but the small number taken from their compositions obtained wide popularity, and have since held their ground. Gelasius was of no great account as a hymn-writer; and the works of Ennodius appear to have been known only in Italy and Spain. The latter part of the sixth century produced Pope Gregory the Great, and Venantius Fortunatus, an Italian poet, the friend of Gregory, and a favourite of Radegunda, Queen of the Franks, who died (609) Bishop of Poitiers. Eleven hymns of Gregory and twelve or thirteen

(mostly taken from longer poems) by Fortunatus, came into general use in the Italian, Gallican, and British churches. Those of Gregory are in a style hardly distinguishable from the Ambrosian; those of Fortunatus are graceful, and sometimes vigorous. He does not, however, deserve the praise given to him by Dr. Neale, of having struck out a new path in Latin hymnody. On the contrary, he may more justly be described as a disciple of the school of Prudentius, and as having affected the classical style, at least as much as any of his predecessors.

The poets of this primitive epoch, which closed with the sixth century, wrote in the old classical metres, and made use of a considerable variety of them—anapæstic, anacreontic, hendecasyllabic, asclepiad, hexameters and pentameters, and others. Gregory and some of the Ambrosian authors occasionally wrote in sapphics; but the most frequent measure was the iambic dimeter, and, next to that, the trochaic. The full alcaic stanza does not appear to have been used for church purposes before the sixteenth

century, though some of its elements were. In the greater number of these works, a general intention to conform to the rules of Roman prosody is manifest; but even those writers (like Prudentius) in whom that conformity was most decided allowed themselves much liberty of deviation from it. Other works, including some of the very earliest, and some of conspicuous merit, were of the kind described by Bede as not metrical but "rhythmical,"—*i.e.* (as he explains the term "rhythm") "modulated to the ear in imitation of different metres." It would be more correct to call them metrical (*e.g.* still trochaic or iambic, etc.), but, according to new laws of syllabic quantity, depending entirely on accent, and not on the power of vowels or the position of consonants—laws by which the future prosody of all modern European nations was to be governed. There are also, in the hymns of the primitive period (even in those of Ambrose), anticipations—irregular indeed and inconstant, but certainly not accidental—of another great innovation, destined to receive important developments, that of assonance or rhyme in the final

letters or syllables of verses. Archbishop Trench, in the introduction to his *Sacred Latin Poetry*, has traced the whole course of this transition from the ancient to the modern forms of versification, ascribing it to natural and necessary causes, which made such changes needful for the due development of the new forms of spiritual and intellectual life, consequent upon the conversion of the Latin-speaking nations to Christianity.

From the sixth century downwards we see this transformation making continual progress, each nation of Western Christendom adding, from time to time, to the earlier hymns in its service-books others of more recent and frequently of local origin. For these additions, the commemorations of saints, etc., as to which the devotion of one place often differed from that of another, offered especial opportunities. This process, while it promoted the development of a mediæval as distinct from the primitive style, led also to much deterioration in the quality of hymns, of which, perhaps, some of the strongest examples may be found in

a volume published in 1865 by the Irish Archæological Society from a manuscript in the library of Trinity College, Dublin. It contains a number of hymns by Irish saints of the sixth, seventh, and eighth centuries—in several instances fully rhymed, and in one mixing Erse and Latin barbarously together, as was not uncommon, at a much later date, in semi-vernacular hymns of other countries. The Mozarabic Breviary, and the collection of hymns used in the Anglo-Saxon churches, published in 1851 by the Surtees Society (chiefly from a Benedictine MS. of the eleventh century in the college library of Durham, supplemented by other MSS. in the British Museum), supply many further illustrations of the same decline of taste—such sapphics, *e.g.*, as the "*Festum insigne prodiit coruscum*" of Isidore, and the

> O veneranda Trinitas laudanda,
> Valde benigna gloriaque digna,
> Nostras exaudi preces quibus Tibi
> Canimus ymnum, etc.,

of the Anglo-Saxon books. The early mediæval period, however, from the time of Gregory the Great to that of Hildebrand,

was far from deficient in the production of good hymns, wherever learning flourished. Bede in England, and Paul "the Deacon" —the author of a fairly classical sapphic ode on St. John the Baptist—in Italy, were successful followers of the Ambrosian and Gregorian styles. Eleven metrical hymns are attributed to Bede by Cassander; and there are also in one of Bede's works (*Collectanea et Flores*) two rhythmical hymns of considerable length on the Day of Judgment, with the refrains "*In tremendo die*" and "*Attende homo*," both irregularly rhymed, and, in parts, not unworthy of comparison with the "Dies Iræ." Paulinus, patriarch of Aquileia, contemporary with Paul, wrote rhythmical trimeter iambics in a manner peculiar to himself. Theodulph, Bishop of Orleans 793-835), author of the famous processional hymn for Palm Sunday in hexameters and pentameters, "*Gloria, laus, et honor tibi sit, Rex Christe Redemptor*," ("Glory and honour and laud be to Thee, King Christ the Redeemer") and Hrabanus Maurus, Archbishop of Mentz (847-856), the pupil of Alcuin, and the most learned theologian

of his day, enriched the Church with some excellent works. Among the anonymous hymns of the same period there are three of great beauty, of which the influence may be traced in most, if not all, of the "New Jerusalem" hymns of later generations, including those of Germany and Great Britain:—"*Urbs beata Hierusalem*" (of which the best English translation is Archbishop Benson's "Blessed city, heavenly Salem"); "*Alleluia piis edite laudibus*" ("Alleluias sound ye in strains of holy praise"—called, from its burden, "*Alleluia perenne*"); and "*Alleluia dulce carmen,*" which, being found in Anglo-Saxon hymnaries certainly older than the Conquest, cannot be of the late date assigned to it, in his *Mediæval Hymns and Sequences*, by Dr. Neale. These were followed by the "*Chorus novæ Hierusalem*" ("Ye Choirs of New Jerusalem") of Fulbert, Bishop of Chartres (1007-1028). This group of hymns is remarkable for an attractive union of melody, imagination, poetical colouring, and faith. It represents, perhaps, the best and highest type of the middle school, between the severe

Ambrosian simplicity and the florid luxuriance of later times.

The difference may be illustrated by comparing (what has been supposed to be) one of the latest of these with the earliest example of the succeeding style.

Alleluia, dulce carmen
Vox perennis gaudii,
Alleluia laus suavis
Est choris cælestibus,
Quam canunt Dei manentes
In domo per sæcula.

Alleluia læta mater
Canit Hierusalem ;
Alleluia vox tuorum
Civium gaudentium ;
Exules nos flere cogunt
Babylonis flumina.

Alleluia non meremur
Nunc perenne psallere ;
Alleluia nos reatus
Cogit intermittere ;
Tempus instat, quo peracta
Lugeamus crimina.

Inde laudando precamur
Te, beata Trinitas,
Ut tuum nobis videre
Pascha des in æthere,
Quo Tibi læti canamus
Alleluia perpetim.

Alleluia ! best and sweetest
Of the hymns of praise above !
Alleluia ! thou repeatest,
Angel host, these notes of love,
This ye utter
While your golden harps ye move.

Alleluia ! Church victorious,
Join the concert of the sky !
Alleluia ! bright and glorious,
Lift, ye saints, this strain on high !
We, poor exiles,
Join not yet your melody.

Alleluia ! strains of gladness
Suit not souls with anguish torn :
Alleluia ! sounds of sadness
Best become our state forlorn.
Our offences
We with bitter tears must mourn.

But our earnest supplication,
Holy God, we raise to Thee :
Visit us with Thy salvation,
Make us all Thy joys to see :
Alleluia !
Ours at length this strain shall be.[1]

In the later and more florid style, the earliest (and also the best) composition is the "*Rhythm on the glory and joys of Paradise*" of Cardinal Damiani,[2] a friend and

[1] The English is from the Rev. John Chandler's *Hymns of the Primitive Church*, p. 65.

[2] Printed at length in Archbishop Trench's *Sacred Latin Poetry*. In some editions of St. Augustine's works it has been attributed to that Father.

fellow-labourer of Hildebrand (afterwards Gregory VII.) in the eleventh century, who was noted for his severe asceticism, and employed in many important Church affairs by Pope Alexander II. and his predecessors. It consists of twenty long assonant trochaic triplets, of which the first ten, with a version [1] (perhaps closer than may elsewhere be found), are subjoined.

Ad perennis vitæ fontem mens sitivit arida,
Claustra carnis præsto frangi clausa quærit anima,
Gliscit, ambit, eluctatur exul frui patriâ.

Dum pressuris ac ærumnis se gemit obnoxiam,
Quam amisit, dum deliquit, contemplatur gloriam;
Præsens malum urget boni perditi memoriam.

Nam quis promat summæ pacis quanta sit lætitia,
Ubi vivis margaritis surgunt ædificia,
Auro celsa micant tecta, radiant triclinia?

Solis gemmis pretiosis hæc structura nectitur;
Auro mundo, tanquam vitro, urbis via sternitur;
Abest limus, deest fimus, lues nulla cernitur.

Hiems horrens, æstas torrens, illic nunquam sæviunt;
Flos perpetuus rosarum, ver agit perpetuum;
Candent lilia, rubescit crocus, sudat balsamum.

Virent prata, vernant sata, rivi mellis influunt;
Pigmentorum spirat odor, liquor est aromatum;
Pendent poma floridorum non lapsura nemorum.

[1] By the Author.

Non alternat luna vices, sol, vel cursus siderum ;
Agnus est felicis urbis lumen inocciduum ;
Nox et tempus desunt ei, diem fert continuum.

Nam et sancti quisque velut sol præclarus rutilant ;
Post triumphum coronati mutuo conjubilant,
Et prostrati pugnas hostis jam securi memorant.

Omni labe defæcati, carnis bella nesciunt ;
Caro facta spiritalis et mens unum sentiunt ;
Pace multa perfruentes, scandalum non perferunt.

Mutabilibus exuti, repetunt originem,
Et præsentis Veritatis contemplantur speciem ;
Hinc vitalem vivi Fontis hauriunt dulcedinem.

By Life's eternal Fountain, thirsty still and dry,
For freedom from her fleshly bonds th' imprisoned soul doth sigh,
Pants and struggles for her country, with an exile's yearning cry.

Groaning beneath her heavy load, by miseries press'd down,
She gazes on sin's forfeit, the glory once her own,
Lost good, by present ill to memory clearer shown.

For of that perfect peace who can the joys recite,
Where the building is of living pearl, where golden splendours bright
Shine from the lofty roofs, fill the festal halls with light ?

Their fabric is all bonded with gems of precious stone ;
The City's street, like glass, paved with pure gold alone ;
Nothing baneful or unclean within those walls is known.

There is no icy winter, no scorching heats consume ;
It is spring there for ever ; perpetual roses bloom,
White lilies, blushing crocus, balm dropping sweet perfume.

Green the meadows and the corn-fields, the brooks with honey flowing ;
Soft odours from all colours, liquid spices health-bestowing,
Woods of flowery trees, their fruits never falling, ever growing.

No change is there of moon or sun or starry courses bright ;
For the Lamb is that blest City's never-setting light ;
Eternal Day is there, Day without time or night.

And there shines every Saint with the brightness of a sun ;
They have triumphed, they are crowned, they rejoice all as one,
Safe now, counting over the battles they have won.

Dross and stain purged away, from fleshly contests freed,
Mind and spiritual body in one law agreed,
To the joys of that great peace no snares of sin succeed.

Stripped of all that suffered change, to the Author of their race
They return, and with Present Truth standing face to face
From the Living Well-spring drink the sweetness of His grace.

Another celebrated hymn, which belongs to the first mediæval period, is the "*Veni*

Creator Spiritus" ("Come, Holy Ghost, our souls inspire"). The earliest recorded occasion of its use is that of a translation (898) of the relics of St. Marcellus, mentioned in the *Annals* of the Benedictine order. It has since been constantly sung throughout Western Christendom (as versions of it still are in the Church of England) as part of the appointed offices for the coronation of kings, the consecration and ordination of bishops and priests, the assembling of synods, and other great ecclesiastical solemnities. It has been attributed—probably in consequence of certain corruptions in the text of Ekkehard's *Life of Notker* (a work of the thirteenth century)—to Charlemagne. Ekkehard wrote in the Benedictine monastery of St. Gall, to which Notker belonged, with full access to its records; and an ignorant interpolator, regardless of chronology, added, at some later date, the word "Great" to the name of "the Emperor Charles," wherever it was mentioned in that work. The biographer relates that Notker — a man of a gentle contemplative nature, observant of all around

him, and accustomed to find spiritual and poetical suggestions in common sights and sounds — was moved by the sound of a mill-wheel to compose his "sequence" on the Holy Spirit, "*Sancti Spiritus adsit nobis gratia*" ("Present with us ever be the Holy Spirit's grace"); and that, when finished, he sent it as a present to "the Emperor Charles," who in return sent him back, "by the same messenger," the hymn "*Veni Creator*," which (says Ekkehard) the same "Spirit had inspired him to write" ("Sibi idem Spiritus inspiraverat"). If this story is to be credited—and, from its circumstantial and almost dramatic character, it has an air of truth—the author of "*Veni Creator*" was not Charlemagne, but may have been his grandson Charles the Bald, who succeeded to the royal crown in 840, about the time when Notker was born, and to the imperial in 875. Notker himself long survived that emperor, and died in 912.

From the ninth century downwards the poetry of the Latin Church was more and more marked by the character which clerical

celibacy, the monastic life, and the ecclesiastical use of an unspoken language might be expected to produce in devout minds,—that of abstraction from the world, and an enthusiastic (often mystical) contemplation of heavenly things. But the invention of "sequences" by Notker may be regarded as the beginning of the later mediæval epoch of Latin hymnody. In the eucharistic service, in which (as has been stated) hymns were not generally used, it had been the practice, except at certain seasons, to sing "laud," or "Alleluia," between the epistle and the gospel, and to fill up what would otherwise have been a long pause, by extending the cadence upon the two final vowels of the "Alleluia" into a protracted strain of music. It occurred to Notker that, while preserving the spirit of that part of the service, the monotony of the interval might be relieved by introducing at that point a chant of praise specially composed for the purpose. With that view he produced the peculiar species of rhythmical composition which obtained the name of "*sequentia*" (probably from following after

the close of the "Alleluia"), and also that of "*prosa*," because its structure was originally irregular and unmetrical, resembling in this respect the Greek "troparia," and the "*Te Deum*," "*Benedicite*," and Canticles. That it was in some measure suggested by the forms of the later Greek hymnody seems probable, both from the intercourse (at that time frequent) between the Eastern and Western churches, and from the application, by Ekkehard in his biography, and elsewhere (*e.g.* in Lyndwood's *Provinciale*), of some technical terms, borrowed from the Greek terminology, to works of Notker and his school and to books containing them.

Dr. Neale, in a learned dissertation prefixed to his collection of sequences from mediæval Missals, and enlarged in a Latin letter to Dr. Daniel (printed in the fifth volume of Daniel's *Thesaurus*), has investigated the laws of cæsura and modulation which are discoverable in these works. Those first brought into use were sent by their author to Nicholas I., pope from 858 to 867, who authorised their use, and that of others composed after the same model

by other brethren of St. Gall, in all churches of the West.

Although the sequences of Notker and his school, which then rapidly passed into most German, French, and British Missals, were not metrical, the art of "assonance" was much practised in them. Many of those in the Sarum and French Missals have every verse, and even every clause or division of a verse, ending with the same vowel "a"—perhaps with some reference to the terminal letter of "Alleluia." Artifices such as these naturally led the way to the adaptation of the same kind of composition to regular metre and fully developed rhyme. Dr. Neale's full and large collection, and the second volume of Dr. Daniel's *Thesaurus*, contain numerous examples, both of the "proses," properly so called, of the Notkerian type, and of those of the later school, which (from the religious house to which its chief writer belonged) has been called "Victorine." Most Missals appear to have contained some of both kinds. In the majority of those from which Dr. Neale's specimens are taken, the metrical kind

largely prevailed; but in some (*e.g.* those of Sarum and Liège) the greater number were Notkerian.

Of the sequence on the Holy Ghost, sent by Notker (according to Ekkehard) to the Emperor Charles, Dr. Neale says that it "was in use all over Europe, even in those countries, like Italy and Spain, which usually rejected sequences"; and that, "in the Missal of Palencia, the priest was ordered to hold a white dove in his hands, while intoning the first syllables, and then to let it go." Another of the most remarkable sequences attributed to Notker,[1] beginning "*Media in vita*" ("In the midst of life we are in death"), is said to have been suggested to him while observing some workmen engaged in the construction of a bridge over a torrent near his monastery. Miss Winkworth states that this was long used as a battle-song, until the custom was forbidden, on account of its being supposed to exercise a magical influence. A translation of it

[1] Mr. Julian, however, in his *Dictionary of Hymnology* (Murray, 1892), gives reasons, well worthy of attention, for the opinion that this was not Notker's.

("*Mitten wir im Leben sind*") is one of Luther's funeral hymns; and all but the opening sentence of that part of the burial service of the Church of England which is directed to be "said or sung" at the grave, "while the corpse is made ready to be laid into the earth," is taken from it.

The "Golden Sequence," "*Veni, Sancte Spiritus*," is an early example of the transition of sequences from a simply rhythmical to a metrical form.

Veni, Sancte Spiritus,
Et emitte cælitus
Lucis tuæ radium :

Veni Pater pauperum,
Veni Dator munerum,
Veni Lumen cordium ;

Consolator optime,
Dulcis hospes animæ,
Dulce refrigerium :

In labore requies,
In æstu temperies,
In fletu solatium.

O lux beatissima,
Reple cordis intima
Tuorum fidelium.

Sine Tuo nomine
Nihil est in homine,
Nihil est innoxium.

Lava quod est sordidum,
Riga quod est aridum,
Sana quod est saucium :

Flecte quod est rigidum,
Fove quod est frigidum,
Rege quod est devium.

Da Tuis fidelibus
In Te confidentibus
Sacrum septenarium.

Da virtutis meritum,
Da salutis exitum,
Da perenne gaudium.

Holy Spirit, Lord of Light,
From Thy clear celestial height
Thy pure beaming radiance give :

Come, Thou Father of the poor,
Come, with treasures that endure,
Come, Thou Light of all that live.

Thou, of all consolers best,
Visiting the troubled breast,
Dost refreshing peace bestow ;

Thou in toil art comfort sweet ;
Pleasant coolness in the heat ;
Solace in the midst of woe.

Light immortal ! light divine !
Visit Thou these hearts of Thine,
And our inmost being fill.

If Thou take Thy grace away,
Nothing pure in man will stay ;
All his good is turned to ill.

Heal our wounds, our strength renew ;
On our dryness pour Thy dew ;
Wash the stains of guilt away.

Bend the stubborn heart and will,
Melt the frozen, warm the chill ;
Guide the steps which go astray.

Thou, on those who evermore
Thee confess and Thee adore,
In Thy seven-fold gifts descend !

Give them comfort when they die,
Give them life with Thee on high,
Give them joys which never end ![1]

Archbishop Trench, who esteemed this "the loveliest of all the hymns in the whole circle of Latin sacred poetry," was inclined to give credit to a tradition which ascribed its authorship to Robert II., King of France, son of Hugh Capet (997-1031). Others have assigned to it a later date—some attributing it to Pope Innocent III., and some to Stephen Langton, Archbishop of Canterbury.[2]

[1] The English is from the Rev. Edward Caswall's *Lyra Catholica*, p. 234.

[2] Bunsen (*Gesangbuch* of 1871, No. 110) attributes it to King Robert. The question is examined by Mr. Julian, who concludes that King Robert was

Many translations, in German, English, and other languages, attest its merit. Berengarius of Tours, St. Bernard of Clairvaux, and Abelard, in the eleventh century and early in the twelfth, followed in the same track; and the art of the Victorine school was carried to its greatest perfection by Adam of St. Victor (who died between 1173 and 1194)—"the most fertile, and" (in the concurrent judgment of Archbishop Trench and Dr. Neale) "the greatest of the Latin hymnographers of the Middle Ages." The Archbishop's selection contains many excellent specimens of his works.

But the two most widely celebrated of all this class of compositions—works which have exercised the talents of the greatest musical composers, and of innumerable translators in almost all languages—are the "*Dies Iræ*" ("That day of wrath, that dreadful day") by Thomas de Celano, the companion and biographer of St. Francis of Assisi (who died in 1226), and the "*Stabat*

certainly not the author; but thinks it probable, from a statement of Ekkehard, who lived in Pope Innocent the Third's time, that it is that Pontiff's work.

Mater dolorosa" ("By the cross sad vigil keeping") of Jacopone or Jacobus de Benedictis, a Franciscan humorist and reformer, who was persecuted by Pope Boniface VIII. for his satires on the prelacy of the time, and died very old in 1306. Besides these, the thirteenth century produced the famous sequence "*Lauda Sion Salvatorem*" ("Sion, lift thy voice and sing"), and the four other well-known sacramental hymns of St. Thomas Aquinas, viz. "*Pange lingua gloriosi corporis mysterium*" ("Sing, my tongue, the Saviour's glory"), "*Verbum supernum prodiens*" ("The Word, descending from above"—not to be confounded with the Ambrosian hymn from which it borrowed the first line), "*Sacris solemniis juncta sint gaudia*" ("Let us with hearts renewed our grateful homage pay"), and "*Adoro Te devote, latens Deitas*" ("O Godhead hid, devoutly I adore Thee")—a group of remarkable compositions, written by him for the then new festival of Corpus Christi, of which he induced Pope Urban IV. (1261-1265) to decree the observance. In these, which passed rapidly into Breviaries and

Missals, the doctrine of transubstantiation is set forth with a wonderful degree of scholastic precision; and they exercised, probably, a not unimportant influence upon the general reception of that dogma. They are undoubtedly works of genius, powerful in thought, feeling, and expression.

These and other mediæval hymn-writers of the twelfth and thirteenth centuries may be described, generally, as poet-schoolmen. Their tone is contemplative, didactic, theological; they are especially fertile and ingenious in the field of mystical interpretation. Two great monasteries in the East had, in the eighth and ninth centuries, been the principal centres of Greek hymnology; and, in the West, three monasteries—St. Gall, near Constance (which was long the especial seat of German religious literature), Cluny in Burgundy, and St. Victor, near Paris—obtained a similar distinction. St. Gall produced, besides Notker, several distinguished sequence-writers, probably his pupils—Hartmann, Hermann, and Gottschalk,[1] to the last of whom Dr. Neale

[1] In Mr. Julian's *Dictionary of Hymnology* it is

ascribed the "Alleluiatic Sequence" ("*Cantemus cuncti melodum nunc Alleluia*"), known in England through his translation.

The original is not so well known, and is rare in Missals and Sequence-books.

Cantemus cuncti melodum nunc Alleluia ;
In laudibus æterni Regis hæc plebs resultet Alleluia ;
Hoc denique cælestes chori cantent in altum Alleluia ;
Hoc beatorum per prata paradisiaca psallat concentus Alleluia.
Quin et astrorum micantia luminaria jubilent altum Alleluia :
Nubium cursus, ventorum volatus, fulgurum coruscatio et tonitruum sonitus, dulce consonent simul Alleluia ;
Fluctus et undæ, imber et procellæ, tempestas et serenitas, cauma, gelu, nix, pruinæ, saltus, nemora, pangant Alleluia.
Hinc variæ volucres Creatorem laudibus concinite cum Alleluia ;
Ast illic respondeant voces altæ diversarum bestiarum Alleluia.
Istinc montium celsi vertices sonent Alleluia ;
Hinc vallium profunditates saltent Alleluia.
Tu quoque, maris jubilans abysse, dic Alleluia,
Necnon terrarum molis immensitates, Alleluia.
Nunc omne genus humanum laudans exultet, Alleluia,
Et Creatori grates frequentans consonet, Alleluia.

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said, that the "Alleluiatic Sequence" is by Notker, and that, for ascribing it to Gottschalk, there is "no evidence whatever."

Hoc denique nomen audire jugiter delectatur, Alleluia,
Hoc etiam carmen cæleste comprobat ipse Christus, Alleluia.
Nunc vos socii cantate lætantes, Alleluia,
Et vos pueruli respondete semper, Alleluia.
Nunc omnes canite simul Alleluia Domino, Alleluia Christo, Pneumatique Alleluia;
Laus Trinitati æternæ in baptismo Domini quæ clarificatur, hinc canamus, Alleluia.

The strain upraise of joy and praise, Alleluia!
To the glory of their King shall the ransomed people sing, Alleluia!
And the choirs that dwell on high shall re-echo through the sky, Alleluia!
They in the rest of Paradise who dwell, the blessed ones, with joy the chorus swell, Alleluia!
The planets beaming on their heavenly way, the shining constellations join and say, Alleluia!
Ye clouds that onward sweep,
Ye winds on pinions light,
Ye thunders, echoing loud and deep,
Ye lightnings wildly bright,
In sweet consent unite your Alleluia!
Ye floods and ocean billows,
Ye storms and winter snow,
Ye days of cloudless beauty,
Hoar frost and summer glow,
Ye groves that wave in spring,
And glorious forests, sing, Alleluia!
First let the birds, with painted plumage gay, exalt their great Creator's praise, and say, Alleluia!
Then let the beasts of earth, with varying strain, join in Creation's hymn, and cry again, Alleluia!
Here let the mountains thunder forth sonorous, Alleluia!
There let the valleys sing in gentler chorus, Alleluia!

Thou jubilant abyss of ocean, cry, Alleluia !
Ye tracts of earth and continents, reply, Alleluia !
To God, who all Creation made,
The frequent hymn be duly paid, Alleluia !
This is the strain, the eternal strain, the Lord
Almighty loves, Alleluia !
This is the song, the heavenly song, that Christ the
King approves, Alleluia !
Wherefore we sing, both heart and voice awaking,
Alleluia !
And children's voices echo, answer making, Alleluia !
Now from all men be outpoured Alleluia to the
Lord ;
With Alleluia evermore the Son and Spirit we
adore !
Praise be done to the Three in One, Alleluia !
Alleluia ! Alleluia !

The chief poets of Cluny were two of its abbots—Odo (who died in 947), and Peter the Venerable (1122-1156), and one of Peter's monks, Bernard of Morlaix, who wrote the remarkable poem on "Contempt of the World" in about 3000 long rolling "leonine-dactylic" verses, from parts of which Dr. Neale's popular hymns, "Jerusalem the golden," etc., are taken. The abbey of St. Victor, besides Adam and his follower Pistor, was destined afterwards to produce the most popular church poet of the seventeenth century.

There were other distinguished Latin

hymn-writers of the later mediæval period, besides those already mentioned. The name of St. Bernard of Clairvaux cannot be passed over with the mere mention of the fact that he was the author of some metrical sequences. He was, in truth, the father, in Latin hymnody, of that warm and passionate form of devotion which some may consider to apply too freely to Divine Objects the language of human affection, but which has, nevertheless, been popular with many devout persons, in Protestant as well as Roman Catholic churches. Spee, Scheffler, Madame Guyon, Bishop Ken, Count Zinzendorf, and Frederick William Faber may be regarded as disciples in this school. Many hymns, in various languages, have been founded upon St. Bernard's "*Jesu dulcis memoria*" ("Jesu, the very thought of Thee"), "*Jesu dulcedo cordium*" ("Jesu, Thou joy of loving hearts"), "*Jesu Rex admirabilis*" ("O Jesu, King most wonderful"), and "*Jesu, decus Angelicum*" ("O Jesu, Thou the Beauty art")—four portions of one poem, nearly 200 lines long. Marbode (Bishop of Rennes) in the eleventh, Hildebert (Archbishop of Tours) in

the twelfth, and Cardinal Bonaventura in the thirteenth centuries, are other eminent men, who added poetical fame, as hymnographers, to high public distinction.

Before the time of the Reformation, the multiplication of sequences (often as unedifying in matter as unpoetical in style) had done much to degrade the common conception of hymnody. In some parts of France, Portugal, Sardinia, and Bohemia, their use in the vernacular language had been allowed. In Germany also there were vernacular sequences as early as the twelfth century, specimens of which may be seen in the third chapter of Miss Winkworth's *Christian Singers of Germany*. Scoffing parodies upon sequences are said to have been among the means used in Scotland to discredit the old church services. After the fifteenth century they were discouraged at Rome. They retained for a time some of their old popularity among German Protestants, and were only gradually relinquished in France. A new "prose," in honour of St. Maxentia, is among the compositions of Jean Baptiste Santeul; and Dr. Daniel's second volume

closes with one written in 1855 upon the dogma of the Immaculate Conception.

The taste of the Renaissance was offended by all deviations from classical prosody and Latinity. Pope Leo X. directed the whole body of the hymns in use at Rome to be reformed; and a volume of "new ecclesiastical hymns," prepared by Ferreri, a scholar of Vicenza, to whom Leo had committed that task, appeared in 1523, with the sanction of a later pope, Clement VII. The next step was to revise the whole Roman Breviary. That undertaking, after passing through several stages under different popes (particularly Pius V. and Clement VIII.), was at last brought to a conclusion by Urban VIII., in 1631. From this revised Breviary a large number of mediæval hymns, both of the earlier and the later periods, were excluded; and in their places many new hymns, including some by Pope Urban himself, and some by Cardinal Bellarmine and another cardinal (Silvius Antonianus) were introduced. The hymns of the primitive epoch, from Hilary to Gregory the Great, for the most part retained their places

(especially in the offices for every day of the week); and there remained altogether from seventy to eighty of earlier date than the eleventh century. Those, however, which were so retained were freely altered, and by no means generally improved. The revisers appointed by Pope Urban (three learned Jesuits, — Strada, Gallucci, and Petrucci) professed to have made "as few changes as possible" in the works of Ambrose, Gregory, Prudentius, Sedulius, Fortunatus, and other "poets of great name." But some changes, even in those works, were made with considerable boldness; and the pope, in the "constitution" by which his new book was promulgated, boasted that, "with the exception of a very small number ('*perpaucis*'), which were either prose or merely rhythmical, all the hymns had been made conformable to the laws of prosody and Latinity, those which could not be corrected by any milder method being entirely rewritten." The latter fate befell, among others, "*Urbs beata Hierusalem*," which now assumed the form (to many, perhaps, better known) of "*Cœlestis*

urbs Jerusalem." Of the "very few" which were spared, the chief were "*Ave maris stella*" ("Gentle star of ocean"), "*Dies Iræ*," "*Stabat Mater dolorosa*," the hymns of St. Thomas Aquinas, two of St. Bernard, and one Ambrosian hymn, "*Jesu nostra Redemptio*" ("O Jesu, our Redemption"), which approaches nearer than others to the tone of St. Bernard. A then recent hymn of St. Francis Xavier, with scarcely enough merit of any kind to atone for its neglect of prosody, "*O Deus, ego amo Te*" ("O God, I love Thee, not because"), was at the same time introduced without change. This hymnary of Pope Urban VIII. is now in general use throughout the Roman Communion.

The Parisian hymnary underwent three revisions—the first in 1527, when a new "Psaltery with hymns" was issued. In this such changes only were made as the revisers thought justifiable upon the principle of correcting supposed corruptions of the original text. Of these, the transposition, "*Urbs Jerusalem beata*," instead of "*Urbs beata Hierusalem*," may be taken as

a typical example. The next revision was in 1670-1680, under Cardinal Péréfixe, preceptor of Louis XIV., and Francis Harlay, successively archbishops of Paris, who employed for this purpose Claude Santeul, of the monastery of St. Magloire, and, through him, obtained the assistance of other French scholars, including his more celebrated brother, Jean Baptiste Santeul, of the abbey of St. Victor,—better known as "Santolius Victorinus." The third and final revision was completed in 1735, under the primacy of Cardinal Archbishop de Vintimille, who engaged for it the services of Charles Coffin, then rector of the university of Paris. Many old hymns were omitted in Archbishop Harlay's Breviary, and a large number of new compositions, by the Santeuls and others, were introduced. It still, however, retained in their old places (without further changes than had been made in 1527) about seventy of earlier date than the eleventh century,— including thirty-one Ambrosian, one by Hilary, eight by Prudentius, seven by Fortunatus, three by Paul the Deacon, two each by Sedulius, Elpis, Gregory, and

Hrabanus Maurus, "*Veni Creator*," and "*Urbs Jerusalem beata*." Most of these disappeared in 1735, although Cardinal Vintimille, in his preface, professed to have still admitted the old hymns, except when the new were better—("*veteribus hymnis locus datus est, nisi quibus, ob sententiarum vim, elegantiam verborum, et teneriores pietatis sensus, recentiores anteponi satius visum est*"). The number of the new was, at the same time, very largely increased. Only twenty-one more ancient than the sixteenth century remained, of which those belonging to the primitive epoch were but eight, viz. four Ambrosian, two by Fortunatus, and one each by Prudentius and Gregory. The number of Jean Baptiste Santeul's hymns (who had died in 1697) rose to eighty-nine; those by Coffin—including some old hymns, *e.g.* "*Jam lucis orto sidere*" ("Once more the sun is beaming bright"), which he substantially rewrote—were eighty-three; those of other modern French writers, ninety-seven. Whatever opinion may be entertained of the principles on which these Roman and Parisian revisions

proceeded, it would be unjust to deny very high praise as hymn-writers to several of their poets, especially to Coffin and Jean Baptiste Santeul.

The following noble hymn by Coffin (for Vespers on the Lord's Day) is not the only one of his works which breathes the true Ambrosian spirit.

O luce qui mortalibus
Lates inaccessâ, Deus !
Præsente quo sancti tremunt
Nubuntque vultus Angeli :

Hic, ceu profundâ conditi
Demergimur caligine :
Aeternus at noctem suo
Fulgore depellet dies.

Hunc nempe nobis præparas,
Nobis reservas hunc diem,
Quem vix adumbrat splendida
Flammantis astri claritas.

Moraris, heu ! nimis diu,
Moraris, optatus dies !
Ut te fruamur, noxii
Linquenda moles corporis.

His cum soluta vinculis
Mens evolârit, O Deus,
Videre Te, laudare Te,
Amare Te, non desinet.

Ad omne nos apta bonum,
Fœcunda donis Trinitas :
Fac lucis usuræ brevi
Aeterna succedat dies.

O Thou, who in the light dost dwell
To mortals unapproachable,
Where Angels veil them from Thy rays,
And tremble as they gaze :

While us the deeps of darkness bar,
From Thy bless'd Presence set afar,
Till brightness of th' eternal day
Shall chase the gloom away :

Such day Thou hast in store with Thee,
Hid in Thy boundless majesty,
Of which the sun, in glorious trim,
Is but a shadow dim.

Why lingers thus light's golden wheel
Which shall to us that day reveal?
But we must cast this flesh aside,
Ere we with Thee abide.

But when the soul shall take her wing
From out her dark enveloping,—
To see Thee, praise Thee, love Thee still,
Her urn within shall fill.

Dread Three in One, mould us and bless
In Thine o'erflowing bounteousness,
To pass unharmed through this our night
And see Thine endless light.[1]

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[1] Translation by the Rev. Isaac Williams, *Hymns from the Parisian Breviary*, p. 10.

Santeul (generally esteemed the better poet of the two) delighted in alcaics, and did not greatly affect the primitive manner. But there can be no question as to the excellence of such hymns as his "*Fumant Sabæis templa vaporibus*" ("Sweet incense breathes around"), "*Stupete gentes, fit Deus hostia*" ("Tremble, ye Gentile lands"), and "*Templi sacratas pande, Sion, fores*" ("O Sion, open wide thy gates"); and (perhaps as good as any of them) the hymn for All-Saints' Day:—

Hymnis dum resonat curia Cœlitum,
Hic flemus, patriis finibus exules:
Hic suspensa tenemus
Mutis cantibus organa.

Quando mens misero libera carcere
Se vestris sociam cœtibus inserat,
Et caligine pulsâ
Cæli lucem habitabimus?

Obscuræ fugient mentis imagines,
Cum, stantes propius luminis ad jubar,
Nos Verum sine nube
Ipso in fonte videbimus.[1]

Nobis, sancta cohors, sis bona; fluctibus
Luctantes mediis quos modo respicis,
Da portus, duce Christo,
Da contingere prosperos.

[1] In this and the first stanza, some of the thoughts are evidently taken from Damiani's *Rhythm* (*ante*, p. 51).

A quo cuncta fluunt, maxima laus Patri :
Qui mundum reparat, maxima Filio :
Et quo pectora flagrant
Sit laus maxima Flamini.

With hymns the Heavenly Courts are ringing :
We, exiles from our country, weep ;
And silence from glad singing
Our harps suspended keep.

When shall the soul, her fetters burst,
Be joined to those assemblies bright,
All darkness then dispers'd,
Her dwelling-place Heav'n's light ?

Far off shall all dim fancies flee,
When, to light's glory brought more near,
Without a cloud we see
Truth in her Fountain clear.

If, blessed Saints, ye watch our pain,
Still striving amid stormy waves,
Pray, that safe port we gain
Through Christ, who only saves.

Praise to the Father, Source of All !
The Son, Repairer of our Fall !
And the Blest Spirit's Name,
Who doth our hearts inflame.[1]

It is a striking testimony to the merits of these writers that such accomplished translators as the Rev. Isaac Williams and the Rev. John Chandler appear (from the title-page of the latter, and the prefaces of both)

[1] Translated by the Author.

to have supposed their hymns to be "ancient" and "primitive." Among the other authors associated with them, perhaps the first place is due to the Abbé Besnault, of Sens, who contributed to the book of 1735 the "*Urbs beata vera pacis Visio Jerusalem*," in the opinion of Dr. Neale "much superior" to the "*Cœlestis urbs Jerusalem*" of the Roman Breviary. This stood side by side with the "*Urbs Jerusalem beata*" of 1527 (in the office for the dedication of churches) till 1822, when the older form was at last finally excluded by Archbishop de Quelen.

The ancient hymn, whatever its merits, had some blemishes which might account for endeavours to mend it. But the departure from it, both in the Roman and in the Parisian Breviary, went much further. In the former most of the architectural imagery, in the latter the whole conception of the Heavenly City "as a Bride prepared and adorned for her husband,"[1] was left out; and what was retained of the original thoughts was altered in expression and arrangement. Considered as new

[1] Revelation xxi. 2.

hymns, both the Roman and the Parisian are spirited and attractive. Of their comparative merits, the best judgment may be formed by placing them (with translations) side by side.

Roman.

Cœlestis urbs Jerusalem,
Beata pacis visio,
Quæ celsa de viventibus
Saxis ad astra tolleris,
Sponsæque ritu cingeris
Mille Angelorum millibus :

O sorte nupta prosperâ,
Dotata Patris gloriâ,
Respersa Sponsi gratiâ,
Regina formosissima,
Christo jugata Principi,
Cœli corusca Civitas !

Hic margaritis emicant
Patentque cunctis ostia :
Virtute namque prævîâ
Mortalis illuc ducitur,
Amore Christi percitus
Tormenta quisquis sustinet.

Scalpri salubris ictibus
Et tunsione plurimâ,
Fabri polita malleo,
Hanc saxa molem continent,
Aptisque juncta nexibus
Locantur in fastigio.

Decus Parenti debitum
Sit undequaque Altissimo,

Natoque Patris Unico,
Et inclyto Paraclito :
Cui laus, potestas, gloria,
Aeterna sit per sæcula !

Jerusalem, thou City blest !
Dear Vision of celestial rest,
Which far above the starry sky
Piled up with living stones on high,
Art as a Bride encircled bright
With million Angel forms of light !

Oh, wedded in a prosperous hour !
The Father's glory was thy dower ;
The Spirit all His graces shed,
Thou peerless queen, upon thy head,
When Christ espoused thee for His Bride,
O City bright and glorified !

Thy gates a pearly lustre pour ;
Thy gates are open evermore :
And thither evermore draw nigh
All who for Christ have dared to die,
Or, smit with love of their dear Lord,
Have pains endured, and joys abhorr'd.

Thou too, O Church, which here we see,
No easy task hath builded thee :
Long did the chisels ring around,
Long did the mallet's blows resound,
Long worked the head and toiled the hand,
Ere stood these stones as now they stand.

To God the Father, glory due
Be paid by all the heavenly host,
And to His only Son most true,
With Thee, O mighty Holy Ghost !

To Whom praise, power, and blessing be
Through ages of eternity ! [1]

Parisian.

Urbs beata, vera pacis
Visio, Jerusalem,
Quanta surgit ! celsa saxis
Conditur viventibus :
Quæ polivit, hæc coaptat
Sedibus suis Deus.

Singulis ex margaritis
Singulæ portæ nitent ;
Murus omnis fulget auro,
Fulget unionibus :
Angularis Petra Christus
Fundat urbis mœnia.

Ejus est Sol cæsus Agnus,
Ejus est Templum Deus :
Aemulantes hic beati
Puriores spiritus
Laude jugi Numen Unum
Terque Sanctum concinunt.

Hinc et inde sunt aperta
Civitatis ostia :
Quisquis ambit huc venire
Inserique mœnibus,
Ante duris hic probari
Debuit laboribus.

Sit perennis laus Parenti,
Sit perennis Filio :
Laus Tibi, qui nectis ambos,
Sit perennis, Spiritus !
Chrisma cujus nos inungens
Viva templa consecrat.

[1] Translated by the Rev. Edward Caswall.

Blessed City, Vision bright
Of true peace, Jerusalem!
See her rise to wondrous height,
Built of many a living gem,
Polished, and by God's own hand
Framed in order due to stand.

Each one pearl of ray transcendent
Are her portals, equal all:
Shines with purest gold resplendent,
Shines with pearls, the City wall:
Christ its Founder, Christ alone
Is its Rock and Corner-stone.

God that City's Temple is,
And her Sun the Lamb once slain:
There pure spirits in their bliss
Vie in one triumphal strain,
One, Thrice Holy, God the Lord
Praising still with sweet accord.

There for all who seek is room;
Every gate is open wide;
Only, who would thither come
And within those walls abide,
Trial sore of toil and woe
He must suffer first below.

To the Father endless praise,
Endless to th' Incarnate Son,
And to Thee, Spirit of grace,
Bond of Holiest Union!
Who anointest us to be
Living temples, meet for Thee![1]

The Parisian Breviary of 1735 remained in use till the national French service-books

[1] Translated by the Author.

were superseded (as they have now been, generally, if not universally) by the Roman. Almost all French dioceses followed, not indeed the Breviary, but the example, of Paris; and before the end of the eighteenth century the ancient Latin hymnody was all but banished from France.

In some parts of Germany, after the Reformation, Latin hymns continued to be used, even by Protestants. This was the case at Halberstadt until quite a recent date. In England, a few are still occasionally used in the older universities and colleges. Some, also, have been composed in both countries since the Reformation. The "*Carmina Lyrica*" of John Jacob Balde, a native of Alsace, and a Jesuit priest in Bavaria, have received high commendation from eminent German critics, particularly Herder and Augustus Schlegel. Some of the Latin hymns of William Alard, a Protestant refugee from Belgium, and pastor in Holstein (1572-1645), have been thought worthy of a place in Archbishop Trench's selection. Two by W. Petersen (printed at the end of Haberkorn's supplement to Jacobi's

Psalmodia Germanica) are good in different ways — one, "*Jesu dulcis amor meus*" ("Jesus, Thee my soul doth love"), being a gentle melody of spiritual devotion, and the other, entitled *Spes Sionis*, violently controversial against Rome. An English hymn of the seventeenth century, in the Ambrosian style, "*Te Deum Patrem colimus*" ("Almighty, Father, just and good"), is sung on every May-day morning by the choristers of Magdalen College, Oxford, from the top of the tower of their chapel; and another in the style of the Renaissance, of about the same date, "*Te de profundis, summe Rex*" ("Thee, from the depths, Almighty King"), is, or until lately was, sung as part of a grace by the scholars of Winchester College.[1]

[1] The principal ancient authorities on Latin hymnody are the 25th chapter ("De hymnis et cantilenis et incrementis eorum") of the treatise of Walafridus Strabo, and a treatise of the fourteenth century ("*De Psalterio observando*"), by Radulphus, Dean of Tongres in the Netherlands. Next to those are the first book of Clichtoveus's *Elucidatorium Ecclesiasticum* (Paris, 1556); the chapter on Ambrosian and other hymns in the works of George Cassander (Paris, 1616); the *Psalterium*, etc., in the second volume of the works of Cardinal J. M.

5. German Hymnody

Luther was a proficient in and a lover of music. He desired (as he says in the

Thomasius (Rome, 1747); and the treatise "De Hymnis Ecclesiasticis," prefixed to the *Hymnodia Hispanica* of Faustinus Arevalus (Rome, 1786). The present century, more especially within the last fifty years, has added much to the stores of learning accessible on this subject. In Germany, Rambach's *Christian Anthology*; Mone's *Hymni Latini medii Ævi*; Daniel's *Thesaurus Hymnologicus*; and Mohnike's *Hymnologische Forschungen*; — and in England, Archbishop Trench's *Sacred Latin Poetry*; Dr. Neale's two collections of *Latin Hymns and Sequences* (Oxford, 1851 and 1852), and his *Essays on Liturgiology and Church History*; the Oxford collection of Hymns from the Roman, Sarum, York, and other Breviaries (1838); the *Psalter*, etc., according to Sarum use, of Mr. J. D. Chambers (1852); and the two volumes already referred to of Anglo-Saxon and Irish hymns, published in 1851 and 1865 by the Surtees Society and the Irish Archæological Society, have left little to be added by any future labourers in this field. The same period has also produced numerous English translations of Latin hymns, many of which are good and interesting, though perhaps few of the translators have overcome the inherent difficulties of their task sufficiently either to represent the characteristic merits of the originals, or to add to our vernacular hymns many adaptations really well suited for popular use. The most important are—Mr. Isaac Williams's *Hymns from the Parisian Breviary* (1839), and Mr. Chandler's *Hymns of the Primitive Church* (1837); Bishop Mant's *Ancient Hymns* (1837), and the Rev. Edward

preface to his hymn-book of 1545) that this "beautiful ornament" might "in a right manner serve the great Creator and His Christian people." The persecuted Bohemian or Hussite Church, then settled on the borders of Moravia under the name of "United Brethren" (which their descendants still retain), had sent to him, on a mission in 1522, Michael Weiss, who not long afterwards published a number of German translations from old Bohemian hymns (known as those of the "Bohemian Brethren"), with some of his own. These Luther highly approved and recommended. He himself, in 1522, published a small volume of eight hymns, which was enlarged to 63 in 1527, and to 125 in 1545. He had formed what he called a "house choir" of musical friends, to select such old and

Caswall's *Lyra Catholica* (1849), both from the Roman Breviary; the versions of Mr. Chambers, in his Sarum *Psalter*, etc.; Dr. Neale's *Mediæval Hymns and Sequences* (1862), with his versions, separately published, of some other works; and *Hymns of the Latin Church*, translated by David T. Morgan, with the originals appended (privately printed in 1871). The first lines, in English, given here, are generally adopted from some of these.

popular tunes (whether secular or ecclesiastical) as might be found suitable, and to compose new melodies, for church use. His fellow-labourers in this field (besides Weiss) were Justus Jonas, his own especial colleague; Paul Eber, the disciple and friend of Melanchthon; John Walther, choirmaster successively to several German princes, and professor of arts, etc., at Wittenberg; Nicholas Decius, who from a monk became a Protestant teacher in Brunswick, and translated the "*Gloria in Excelsis*," etc.; and Paul Speratus, chaplain to Duke Albert of Prussia in 1525. Some of their works are still popular in Germany. Weiss's "Funeral Hymn," "*Nun lasst uns den Leib begraben*" ("Now lay we calmly in the grave"); Eber's "*Herr Jesu Christ, wahr Mensch und Gott*" ("Lord Jesus Christ, true Man and God"), and "*Wenn wir in höchsten Nöthen sein*" ("When in the hour of utmost need"); Decius's "*Allein Gott in der Höh sei Ehr*" ("To God on high be thanks and praise"); and Speratus's "*Es ist das Heil uns kommen her*" ("Salvation now has come for all"), are among those

which at the time produced the greatest effect, and are still best remembered.

The palm, in point of poetry, may perhaps be given to Walther's "New Heavens and New Earth."

Herzlich thut mich erfreuen
Die liebe sommerzeit,
Wenn Gott wird schön erneuen
Alles zur ewigkeit :
Den himmel und die erden
Wird Gott neu schaffen gar,
All creatur soll werden
Ganz herrlich, schön und klar.

Kein zunge kann erreichen
Die ew'ge schönheit gross ;
Man kann's mit nichts vergleichen,
Die wort' sind viel zu bloss :
Drum müssen wir das sparen
Bis an den jüngsten tag ;
Dann wollen wirs erfahren,
Was Gott ist und vermag.

Denn Gott wird bald uns alle,
Was je geboren ist,
Durch sein posaun mit schalle
In seim Sohn Jesu Christ
In unserm fleisch erwecken
Zu groszer herrlichkeit,
Und klärlich uns entdecken
Die ew'ge seligkeit.

Er wird uns fröhlich leiten
Ins ew'ge paradeis,
Die hochzeit zu bereiten
Zu seinem lob und preis :

Da wird sein freud und wonne
In rechter lieb' und treu
Aus Gottes schatz und bronne
Und täglich werden neu.

Ach Gott, durch deine güte
Führ mich auf rechter bahn!
Herr Christ, mich wohl behüte
Vor allem bösen wahn:
Halt mich im glauben feste
In dieser bösen zeit,
Hilf, dass ich mich stets rüste
Zur ew'gen hochzeitfreud.

Hiemit will ich beschliessen
Das frohe sommerlied,
Es wird gar bald ausspriessen
Die ew'ge sommerblüth,
Das ew'ge jahr herfliessen:
Gott geb in diesem jahr,
Dass wir der frücht geniessen:
Amen! das werde wahr!

Now fain my joyous heart would sing
That lovely summer-time,
When God reneweth everything
In His celestial prime;
When He shall make new heavens and earth,
And all the creatures there
Shall spring from out that second birth
All-glorious, pure, and fair.

The perfect beauty of that sphere
No mortal tongue may speak,
We have no likeness for it here,
Our words are far too weak;
And we must wait till we behold
The hour of judgment true,

That to the soul shall all unfold
What God is, and can do.

For God ere long will summon all
Who once on earth were born ;
This flesh shall hear the trumpet's call
And live again that morn ;
And when in Christ His Son we wake,
These skies asunder roll,
And all the bliss of heaven shall break
Upon the raptured soul.

And He will lead the white-robed throng
To His fair Paradise,
Where from the marriage-feast the song
Of endless praise shall rise,
And from His fathomless abyss
Of perfect love and truth
Shall flow perpetual joy and bliss
In never-ending youth.

Ah God ! now lead me of Thy love
Through this dark world aright ;
Lord Christ, defend me lest I rove,
Or lies delude my sight :
And keep me steadfast in the faith
Till these dark days have ceased,
And ready still in life or death
For Thy great marriage-feast.

And herewith will I end the song
Of that fair summer-time ;
The blossoms shall burst out ere long
Of heaven's eternal prime,
The year begin, for ever new ;
God grant us from on high,
To see our vision here made true,
And eat the fruits of joy ! [1]

[1] Translated by Catherine Winkworth.

Luther's own hymns, thirty-seven in number (of which about twelve are translations or adaptations from Latin originals), are for the principal Christian seasons; on the sacraments, the church, grace, death, etc.; and paraphrases of several psalms, of a passage in Isaiah, and of the Lord's Prayer, the Ten Commandments, Creed, Litany, and "Te Deum." There is also a very touching and stirring song on the martyrdom of two youths by fire at Brussels, in 1523-24. Homely and sometimes rugged in form, and for the most part objective in tone, they are full of fire, manly simplicity, and strong faith. Three rise above the rest. One for Christmas, "*Vom Himmel hoch da komm ich her*" ("From Heaven above to earth I come"), has a reverent tenderness, the influence of which may be traced in many later productions on the same subject. That on salvation through Christ, of a didactic character, "*Nun freuet euch, lieben Christen g'mein*" ("Dear Christian people, now rejoice"), is said to have made many conversions, and to have been once taken up by a large congregation to silence a Roman

Catholic preacher in the cathedral of Frankfort. Pre-eminent above all is the celebrated "*Ein feste Burg ist unser Gott*"—"the production" (as Ranke says) "of the moment in which Luther, engaged in a conflict with a world of foes, sought strength in the consciousness that he was defending a divine cause which could never perish." Carlyle compares it to "a sound of Alpine avalanches, or the first murmur of earthquakes." Heine called it "the Marseillaise of the Reformation."

Ein feste burg ist unser Gott,
Ein gute wehr und waffen,
Er hilft uns frei aus aller noth,
Die uns jetzt hat betroffen:
Der alt böse feind
Mit ernst ers jetzt meint,
Gross macht und viel list
Sein grausam rüstung ist,
Auf erd ist nicht seins gleichen.

Mit unser macht ist nichts gethan,
Wir sind gar bald verloren,
Es streit für uns der rechte mann,
Den Gott selbst hat erkoren.
Fragst du, wer der ist?
Er heisst Jesus Christ,
Der Herr Zebaoth
Und ist kein andrer Gott,
Das feld muss er behalten.

Und wenn die welt voll teufel wär,
Und wollt uns gar verschlingen,
So fürchten wir uns nicht so sehr,
Es soll uns doch gelingen.
Der fürst dieser welt
Wie saur er sich stellt,
Thut er uns doch nicht,
Das macht, er ist gericht,
Ein wörtlein kann ihn fällen.

Das wort sie sollen lassen stahn,
Und kein dank dazu haben,
Er ist bei uns wohl auf dem plan,
Mit seinem Geist und gaben.
Nehmen sie den leib,
Gut, ehr, kind und weib,
Lass fahren dahin
Sie habens kein gewinn :
Das reich muss uns doch bleiben.

A mighty Fortress is our God ;
Well He defends and arms us ;
He brings relief from the distress
Which now so sore alarms us :
The ancient Foe, with fell intent,
Is on our swift destruction bent ;
Great through earth's length
His craft and power ;
Earth has no tower
To match his strength.

'Tis nought that we ourselves can do ;
We should be lost for ever
But for the Man, God's chosen One,
Who can and will deliver.
Tell those who ask us, What His Name?
'Tis Jesus Christ ; His praise proclaim !

He, God adored,
Will hold the field,
For all must yield
To Sabaoth's Lord.

If Satan's malice filled the world
Us to devour preparing,
We should not fear, but safe would stand,
The Conqueror's banner bearing.
One little word can overthrow
All the wild fury of the Foe:
Though world and hell
Their powers unite,
Not all their might
Can make us quail.

His word shall prosper and prevail;
Not ours, but His the merit:
He sets our battle in array;
We have His gifts and Spirit.
Take wings and vanish, earthly life!
Fly, goods and honours, child and wife!
These could not gain
His Heavenly Rest:
That Kingdom blest
Shall ours remain.[1]

Luther spent several years in teaching his people at Wittenberg to sing these hymns, which soon spread over Germany. Without adopting the hyperbolical saying of Coleridge, that "Luther did as much for the Reformation by his hymns as by his translation of

[1] By the Author.

the Bible," it may truly be affirmed that, among the secondary means by which the success of the Reformation was promoted, none was more powerful. They were sung everywhere,—in the streets and fields as well as the churches, in the workshop and the palace, "by children in the cottage and by martyrs on the scaffold." It was by them that a congregational character was given to the new Protestant worship. This success they owed partly to their metrical structure, which, though sometimes complex, was recommended to the people by its ease and variety; and partly to the tunes and melodies (many of them already well known and popular) to which they were set. They were used as direct instruments of teaching, and were therefore, in a large measure, didactic and theological; and it may be partly owing to this cause that German hymnody came to deviate, so soon and so generally as it did, from the simple idea expressed in the ancient Augustinian definition, and to comprehend large classes of compositions which, in most other countries, would hardly be thought suitable for church use.

The principal hymn-writers of the Lutheran school, in the latter part of the sixteenth century, were Selnecker, Nicholas Herman, and Hans Sachs, the shoemaker of Nuremberg, also known in other branches of literature. All these wrote some good hymns. They were succeeded by men of another sort, to whom Cunz gives the name of "master-singers," as having raised both the poetical and the musical standard of German hymnody,—Ringwaldt, Helmbold, Pappus, Schalling, Rutilius, and Weingartner. The principal topics of their hymns (as if with some foretaste of the calamities which were soon to follow) were the vanity of earthly things, resignation to the Divine will, and preparation for death and judgment. The well-known English hymn, "*Great God, what do I see and hear*," is founded upon one by Ringwaldt. Of a quite different character were two of great beauty and universal popularity, composed by Philip Nicolai, a Westphalian pastor, during a pestilence in 1597, and published by him, with fine chorales, two years afterwards. One of these, "*Wie schön leucht't uns der Morgen-*

stern" ("O morning Star, how fair and bright"), became the favourite marriage hymn of Germany. The other (the "*Sleepers, wake, a voice is calling*" of Mendelssohn's oratorio, *St. Paul*) belongs to the family of Advent or New Jerusalem hymns.

Wachet auf! ruft uns die stimme
Der wächter sehr hoch auf der zinne:
Wach auf, du stadt Jerusalem!
Mitternacht heisst diese stunde
Sie rufen und mit hellem munde:
Wo seid ihr klugen jungfrauen?
Wohl auf, der bräutgam kömmt!
Steht auf, die lampe nehmt!
Hallelujah!
Macht euch bereit
Zur hochzeitfreud:
Ihr müsset ihm entgegengehn.

Zion hört die wächter singen,
Das herz thut ihr vor freude springen,
Sie wachet und steht eilend auf:
Ihr freund kommt vom himmel prächtig,
Von gnaden stark, von wahrheit mächtig,
Ihr licht wird hell, ihr stern geht auf.
Nun komm, du werthe kron!
Herr Jesu Gottes Sohn!
Hosianna!
Wir folgen all
Zum freudensaal
Und halten mit das abendmahl.

Ehr und preis sei dir gesungen
Mit menschen und mit engelzungen,

Mit harfen und mit zymbeln schön !
Von zwölf perlen sind die thore
An deiner stadt, wir stehn im chore
Der engel hoch um deinen thron :
Kein aug hat je gespürt,
Kein ohr hat je gehört
Solche freude :
Dess jauchzen wir,
Und singen dir,
Das hallelujah für und für.

Awake, awake, for night is flying,
The watchmen on the heights are crying ;
Awake, Jerusalem, at last !
Midnight hears the welcome voices,
And at the thrilling cry rejoices :
Come forth, ye virgins, night is past !
The Bridegroom comes, awake,
Your lamps with gladness take ;
Hallelujah !
And for His marriage-feast prepare,
For ye must go to meet Him there.

Zion hears the watchmen singing,
And all her heart with joy is springing,
She wakes, she rises from her gloom ;
For her Lord comes down all-glorious,
The strong in grace, in truth victorious,
Her Star is risen, her Light is come !
Ah come, Thou blessed One,
God's own Beloved Son,
Hallelujah !
We follow till the halls we see
Where Thou hast bid us sup with Thee.

Now let all the heavens adore Thee,
And men and angels sing before Thee

With harp and cymbal's clearest tone;
Of one pearl each shining portal,
Where we are with the choir immortal
Of angels round Thy dazzling throne;
No eye hath seen, nor ear
Hath yet attain'd to hear
What there is ours,
But we rejoice, and sing to Thee
Our hymn of joy eternally.[1]

The hymns produced during the Thirty Years' War are characteristic of that unhappy time, which (as Miss Winkworth says) "caused religious men to look away from this world," and made their songs more and more expressive of personal feelings. In point of refinement and graces of style, the hymn-writers of this period excelled their predecessors. Their taste was chiefly formed by the influence of Martin Opitz, the founder of what has been called the "first Silesian school" of German poetry, who died comparatively young in 1639, and who, though not of any great original genius, exercised much power as a critic. Some of the best of these works were by men who wrote little. In the famous battle-song of Gustavus Adolphus, published (1631) after the victory

[1] Translated by Catherine Winkworth.

of Leipsic, for the use of his army, "*Verzage nicht, du Häuflein klein*" ("Fear not, O little flock, the foe"), we may perhaps[1] have a composition of the hero-king himself, the versification corrected by his chaplain Fabricius, and the music composed by Altenburg, whose name has been given to the hymn. This was sung by Gustavus and his soldiers before the fatal battle of Lützen. Two very fine hymns, one of prayer for deliverance and peace, the other of trust in God under calamities, were written about the same time by Löwenstern, a saddler's son, poet, musician, and statesman, who was ennobled after the peace by the Emperor Ferdinand III. Martin Rinckhart, in 1636, wrote the "Chorus of God's faithful children," introduced by Mendelssohn in his "*Lobgesang*," which has been called the "Te Deum" of Germany, being usually sung on occasions of public thanksgiving. Miss Winkworth's spirited and faithful version of it is, of all hymns borrowed from Ger-

[1] This is the opinion of Mohnike; it is controverted by Koch, and by Mr. Julian, in his *Dictionary of Hymnology*.

many, that most frequently sung in English Churches.

Nun danket alle Gott
Mit herzen, mund, und händen,
Der grosse dinge thut
An uns und allen enden :
Der uns von mütterleib
Und kindesbeinen an
Unzählig viel zu gut
Und noch jetzund gethan.

Der ewig reiche Gott
Woll uns bei unserm leben
Ein immer fröhlich herz
Und edlen frieden geben,
Und uns in seiner gnad
Erhalten fort und fort,
Und uns aus aller noth
Erlösen hier und dort.

Lob, ehr und preis sei Gott,
Dem Vater und dem Sohne,
Und dem der beiden gleich
Im höchsten himmels-throne :
Dem dreimaleinen Gott,
Als der ursprünglich war
Und ist und bleiben wird
Lob jetzt und immerdar.

Now thank we all our God
With hearts and hands and voices,
Who wondrous things hath done,
In Whom His world rejoices ;
Who, from our mother's arms,
Hath bless'd us on our way
With countless gifts of love,
And still is ours to-day.

O may this bounteous God
Through all our life be near us,
With ever joyful hearts
And blessed peace to cheer us,
And keep us in His grace,
And guide us when perplex'd,
And free us from all ills
In this world and the next.

All praise and thanks to God
The Father now be given,
The Son, and Him who reigns
With Them in highest Heaven,—
The One eternal God,
Whom earth and heaven adore;
For thus it was, is now,
And shall be evermore!

Weissel, in 1635, composed a beautiful Advent hymn, "*Macht hoch die Thür, die Thor macht weit*" ("Lift up your heads, ye mighty gates"), and Meyfart, Professor of Theology at Erfurt, in 1642, a fine adaptation of the ancient "*Urbs beata Hierusalem.*" The hymn of trust in Providence by Neumarck, librarian to that Duke of Weimar who was a distinguished general in the war, "*Wer nur den lieben Gott lässt walten*" ("Leave God to order all thy ways"), is scarcely, if at all, inferior to that of Paul Gerhardt on the same theme. Paul Flem-

ming, a great traveller and lover of nature, who died young in 1640, also wrote excellent compositions, coloured by the same tone of feeling; and some, of great merit, were composed, soon after the close of the war, by Louisa Henrietta, electress of Brandenburg, granddaughter of the famous Admiral Coligny, and mother of the first king of Prussia. With these may be classed (though of later date) a few striking hymns of faith and prayer under mental anxiety by Anton Ulrich, Duke of Brunswick, whose nominal conversion to Romanism cast a shade over the close of a life otherwise conscientious and honourable.

The most copious, and in their day most esteemed, hymn-writers of this first half of the seventeenth century were Heermann and Rist. Heermann, a pastor in Silesia, the theatre (in a peculiar degree) of war and persecution, experienced in his own person a very large share of the miseries of the time, and several times narrowly escaped a violent death. His *Devoti Musica Cordis*, published in 1630, reflects the feelings natural under such circumstances. With a correct

style and good versification, his tone is subjective, and the burden of his hymns is not praise, but prayer. Among his works (which enter largely into most German hymn-books), two of the best are the "Song of Tears" and the "Song of Comfort," translated by Miss Winkworth in her *Christian Singers of Germany*. Rist published about 600 hymns, "pressed out of him," as he said, "by the cross." He was a pastor, and son of a pastor, in Holstein, and lived after the peace to enjoy many years of prosperity, being appointed poet-laureate to the emperor, and finally ennobled. The bulk of his hymns, like those of other copious writers, are of inferior quality; but some, particularly those for Advent, Epiphany, Easter Eve, and on Angels, are very good. They are more objective than those of Heermann, and written, upon the whole, in a more manly spirit. Next to Heermann and Rist in fertility of production, and above them in poetical genius, was Simon Dach, professor of poetry at Königsberg, who died in 1659. Miss Winkworth ranks him high among German poets, "for the sweetness of form and depth

of tender contemplative emotion to be found in his verses."

The fame of all these writers was eclipsed in the latter part of the same century by three of the greatest hymnographers whom Germany has produced — Paul Gerhardt (1604-1676), John Franck (1618-1677), and John Scheffler (1624-1677), the founder of the "second Silesian school," who assumed the name of "Angelus." Gerhardt is by universal consent the prince of Lutheran poets. His compositions (which may be compared, in many respects, to those of the *Christian Year*) are lyric poems, of considerable length, rather than hymns, though many hymns have been taken from them. They are, with few exceptions, subjective, and speak the language of individual experience. They occupy a middle ground between the masculine simplicity of the old Lutheran style and the highly wrought religious emotion of the later Pietists, towards whom they (on the whole) incline. Being nearly all excellent, it is not easy to distinguish among the 123 those which are entitled to the highest praise. Two, which

were written, one during the war and the other after the conclusion of peace, "*Zeuch ein zu deinen Thoren*" ("Come to Thy temple here on earth"), and "*Gottlob, nun ist erschollen*" ("Thank God, it hath resounded"), are historically interesting. Of the rest, one is well known and highly appreciated in England through Wesley's translation, "*Commit thou all thy ways,*" etc.; and the Evening and Spring-tide hymns, "*Nun ruhen alle Wälder*" ("Now all the woods are sleeping"), and "*Geh aus, mein Herz, und suche Freud*" ("Go forth, my heart, and seek delight"), show an exquisite feeling for nature; while nothing can be more tender and pathetic than "*Du bist zwar mein und bleibest mein*" ("Thou'rt mine, yes, still thou art mine own"), on the death of his son. More suitable than these for public worship is his Advent hymn, of which eight out of ten stanzas are here extracted.

Wie soll ich dich empfangen?
Und wie begegn' ich dir?
O aller welt verlangen!
O meiner seelen zier!

O Jesu, Jesu setze
Mir selbst die fackel bei,
Damit, was dich ergetze,
Mir kund und wissend sei.

Dein Zion streut dir palmen
Und grüne zweige hin,
Und ich will dir in psalmen
Ermuntern meinen sinn.
Mein herze soll dir grünen
In statem lob und preis
Und deinem namen dienen,
So gut es kann und weiss.

Ich lag in schweren banden,
Du kommst und machst mich los;
Ich stund in spott und schanden,
Du kommst und machst mich gross,
Und hebst mich hoch zu ehren,
Und schenkst mir grosses gut,
Das sich nicht läst verzehren,
Wie irdisch reichthum thut.

Nichts, nichts hat dich getrieben
Zu mir vom himmelszelt
Als das geliebte lieben
Damit du alle welt
In ihren tausend plagen
Und grosser jammerslast,
Die kein mund aus kann sagen
So fest umfangen hast.

Das schreib dir in dein herze,
Du hochbetrübtes heer,
Bei denen gram und schmerze
Sich häust je mehr und mehr.
Seid unverzagt! ihr habet
Die hülfe vor der thür!
Der eure herzen labet
Und tröstet, steht allhier.

Ihr dürft euch nicht bemühen,
Noch sorgen tag und nacht,
Wie ihr ihn wollet ziehen
Mit eures armes macht.
Er kommt, er kommt mit willen,
Ist voller lieb und lust
All angst und noth zu stillen,
Die ihm an euch bewusst.

Auch dürft ihr nicht erschrecken
Vor eurer sündenschuld ;
Nein ! Jesus will sie decken
Mit seiner lieb und huld !
Er kommt, er kommt, den sündern
Zum trost und wahren heil,
Schafft, dass bei Gottes kindern
Verbleib ihr erb und theil.

Er kommt zum weltgerichte
Zum fluch dem, der ihm flucht ;
Mit gnad und süszem lichte
Dem, der ihn liebt und sucht.
Ach komm, ach komm, O sonne,
Und hol uns allzumal
Zum ewgen licht und wonne
In deinen freudensaal !

How shall I meet Thee? How my heart
Receive her Lord aright?
Desire of all the earth Thou art,
My hope, my sole delight !
Kindle the lamp, Thou Lord alone,
Half-dying in my breast,
And make Thy gracious pleasure known
How I may greet Thee best.

Her budding boughs and fairest palms
Thy Zion strews around ;

And songs of praise and sweetest psalms
From my glad heart shall sound.
My desert soul breaks forth in flowers,
Rejoicing in Thy fame,
And puts forth all her sleeping powers
To honour Jesus' name.

In heavy bonds I languish'd long,
Thou com'st to set me free ;
The scorn of every mocking tongue,
Thou com'st to honour me.
A heavenly crown wilt Thou bestow
And gifts of priceless worth,
That vanish not as here below
The fading wealth of earth.

Nought, nought, dear Lord, had power to move
Thee from Thy rightful place,
Save that most strange and blessed Love
Wherewith Thou didst embrace
This weary world and all her woe,
Her load of grief and ill
And sorrow, more than man can know ;
Thy Love is deeper still.

O write this promise in your hearts,
Ye sorrowful, on whom
Fall thickening cares, while joy departs
And darker grows your gloom.
Despair not, for your help is near,
He standeth at the door
Who best can comfort you and cheer,
He comes, nor stayeth more.

Nor vex your souls with care, nor grieve
And labour longer thus,
As though your arm could aught achieve
And bring Him down to us.

He comes, He comes with ready will,
By pity moved alone,
To soothe our every grief and ill,
For all to Him are known.

Nor ye, O sinners, shrink aside,
Afraid to see His face;
Your darkest sins our Lord will hide
Beneath His pitying grace.
He comes, He comes, to save from sin,
And all its pangs assuage,
And for the sons of God to win
Their proper heritage.

He comes to judge the earth, and ye,
Who mock'd Him, feel His wrath;
But they who loved and sought Him see
His light o'er all their path.
O Sun of Righteousness! arise
And guide us on our way
To yon fair mansion in the skies
Of joyous cloudless day.[1]

Franck, who was burgomaster of Guben in Lusatia, has been considered by some second only to Gerhardt. If so, it is with a great distance between them. His approach to the later Pietists is closer than that of Gerhardt. His hymns were published, under the title of *Spiritual Zion*, in 1674, some of them being founded on Ambrosian and other Latin originals. Miss

[1] Translated by Catherine Winkworth.

Winkworth gives them the praise of a condensed and polished style, and fervid and impassioned thought.

It was after his conversion to Romanism that Scheffler adopted the name of "Angelus," and published (1657) his hymns, under a fantastic title, and with a still more fantastic preface. Their key-note is divine love; they are enthusiastic, intense, exuberant in their sweetness, like those of St. Bernard among mediæval poets. An adaptation of one of them, by Wesley, "*Thee will I love, my Strength, my Tower,*" is familiar to English readers. His hymns are generally so free from the expression, or even the indirect suggestion, of Roman Catholic doctrine, that it has been supposed they were written before his conversion, though published afterwards. The evangelical churches of Germany found no difficulty in admitting them to that prominent place in their services which they have ever since retained.

The following (abridged by the omission of three out of eleven stanzas) is an example of his best style.

Sommerlied.

Keine Schönheit hat die Welt,
Die mir nicht vor Augen stellt
Meinen schönsten Jesum Christ,
Der der Schönheit Ursprung ist.

Wenn die Morgenroth entsteht
Und die goldne Sonn aufgeht,
So erinnre ich mich bald
Seiner himmlischen Gestalt.

Seh ich dann den Mondeschein
Und des Himmels Aeugelein,
So gedenk ich, Der diess macht,
Hat viel tausend grössre Pracht.

Schau ich in dem Frühling an
Unsern bunten Wiesenplan,
So bewegt es mich zu schrein,
Ach, wie muss der Schöpfer sein !

Lieblich singt die Nachtigall,
Süsse klingt der Flötenschall ;
Aber über allen Ton
Ist das Wort : Marien Sohn !

Anmuth giebt es in der Luft,
Wenn die Echo wieder ruft ;
Aber nichts ist überall,
Wie des Liebsten Wiederhall.

Ei nun, Schönster, komm herfür,
Komm und zeige selbst dich mir,
Lass mich sehn dein eigen Licht
Und dein blosses Angesicht.

Ach, mein Jesu, nimm doch hin,
Was mir decket Geist und Sinn,
Dass ich dich zu jeder Frist
Sehe, wie du selber bist.

Earth has nothing sweet or fair,
Lovely forms or beauties rare,
But before my eyes they bring
Christ, of beauty source and spring.

When the morning paints the skies,
When the golden sunbeams rise,
Then my Saviour's form I find
Brightly imaged on my mind.

When, as moonlight softly steals,
Heaven its thousand eyes reveals,
Then I think: Who made their light
Is a thousand times more bright.

When I see, in spring-tide gay,
Fields their varied tints display,
Wakes the awful thought in me,
What must their Creator be!

Sweet the song the night-bird sings,
Sweet the lute with quivering strings;
Far more sweet than every tone
Are the words, "Maria's Son."

Sweetness fills the air around
At the echo's answering sound,
But more sweet than echo's fall
Is to me the Bridegroom's call.

Lord of all that's fair to see!
Come, reveal Thyself to me;
Let me, 'mid Thy radiant light,
See Thine unveil'd glories bright.

Come, Lord Jesus! and dispel
This dark cloud in which I dwell;
Thus to me the power impart,
To behold Thee as Thou art.[1]

[1] Translated by Frances Elizabeth Cox.

Towards the end of the seventeenth century a new religious school arose, to which the name of "Pietists" was given, and of which Philip Jacob Spener was esteemed the founder. He and his pupils and successors, August Hermann Francke and Anastasius Freylinghausen, all wrote hymns. Spener's hymns are not remarkable, and Francke's are not numerous. Freylinghausen was their chief singer: his rhythm is lively, his music florid; but, though his book attained extraordinary popularity, he was surpassed in solid merit by other less fertile writers of the same school. The "*Auf hinauf zu deiner Freude*" ("Up, yes, upward to thy gladness") of Schade may recall to an English reader a hymn by Seagrave, and more than one by Lyte; the "Malabarian hymn"[1] of Schütz, "*Sei Lob und Ehr dem höchsten Gut*" ("All glory to the Sovereign Good"), has been popular in England as well as Germany; and one of the most exquisite strains of pious resignation ever written is by Rodigast, which (as it finds a place in Bunsen's *Gesangbuch*) may

[1] So called by Jacobi.

be given here, though it has more the character of private meditation than of church hymnody.

Was Gott thut, das ist wohl gethan ;
Es bleibt gerecht sein wille.
Wie er fängt meine sachen an
Will ich ihm halten stille :
Er ist mein Gott,
Der in der noth
Mich wohl weiss zu erhalten
Drum lass ich ihn nur walten.

Was Gott thut, das ist wohl gethan :
Er wird mich nicht betrügen,
Er führet mich auf rechte bahn ;
So lass ich mich begnügen
An seiner huld,
Und hab geduld,
Er wird mein unglück wenden :
Es steht in seinen händen.

Was Gott thut, das ist wohl gethan :
Er wird mich wohl bedenken,
Er, als mein arzt und wundermann,
Wird mir nicht gift einschenken
Für arzenei ;
Gott ist getreu,
Drum will ich auf ihn bauen,
Und seiner güte trauen.

Was Gott thut, das ist wohl gethan :
Er ist mein licht und leben,
Der mir nichts böses gönnen kann ;
Ich will mich ihm ergeben
In freud und leid,
Es kommt die zeit,
Da öffentlich erscheinet
Wie treulich er es meinet.

Was Gott thut, das ist wohl gethan :
Muss ich den kelch gleich schmecken,
Der bitter ist nach meinem wahn,
Lass ich mich doch nicht schrecken,
Weil doch zuletzt
Ich werd ergötzt
Mit süssem trost im herzen ;
Da weichen alle schmerzen.

Was Gott thut, das ist wohl gethan :
Dabei will ich verbleiben,
Es mag mich auf die rauhe bahn
Noth, tod und elend treiben,
So wird Gott mich
Ganz väterlich
In seinen armen halten ;
Drum lass ich ihn nur walten.

Whate'er my God ordains is right,
His will is ever just ;
Howe'er He order now my cause,
I will be still and trust.
He is my God ;
Though dark my road,
He holds me that I shall not fall,
Wherefore to Him I leave it all.

Whate'er my God ordains is right,
He never will deceive ;
He leads me by the proper path,
And so to Him I cleave,
And take content
What He hath sent ;
His hand can turn my griefs away,
And patiently I wait His day.

Whate'er my God ordains is right,
He taketh thought for me;
The cup that my Physician gives
No poison'd draught can be,
But medicine due;
For God is true,
And on that changeless Truth I build,
And all my heart with hope is fill'd.

Whate'er my God ordains is right,
My Light, my Life is He,
Who cannot will me aught but good,
I trust Him utterly;
For well I know,
In joy or woe,
We once shall see as sunlight clear
How faithful was our Guardian here.

Whate'er my God ordains is right,
Though I the cup must drink
That bitter seems to my faint heart,
I will not fear nor shrink;
Tears pass away
With dawn of day,
Sweet comfort yet shall fill my heart,
And pain and sorrow all depart.

Whate'er my God ordains is right,
Here will I take my stand;
Though sorrow, need, or death make earth
For me a desert land,
My Father's care
Is round me there,
He holds me that I shall not fall,
And so to Him I leave it all.[1]

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[1] Translated by Catherine Winkworth.

Joachim Neander, a schoolmaster at Düsseldorf, and a friend of Spener and Schütz (who died before the full development of the "Pietistic" school), was the first man of eminence in the "Reformed" or Calvinistic Church who imitated Lutheran hymnody. This he did, while suffering persecution from the elders of his own church for some other religious practices, which he had also learned from Spener's example. As a poet, he is sometimes deficient in art; but there is feeling, warmth, and sweetness in many of his "*Bundeslieder*" or "Songs of the Covenant," and they obtained general favour, both in Reformed and in Lutheran congregations. The hymn on the Glory of God in Creation, "*Himmel, Erde, Luft, und Meer*" ("Lo, heaven and earth and sea and air"), is an instance of his best style.

With the "Pietists" may be classed Schmolke, Gotter, and Dessler, representatives of the "Orthodox" division of Spener's school; Hiller, their leading poet in South Germany; Arnold and Tersteegen, who were practically independent of ecclesiastical or-

ganisation, though connected, one with the "Orthodox" and the other with the "Reformed" churches; and Louis Count Zinzendorf. Schmolke, a pastor in Silesia, called the Silesian Rist (1672-1737), was perhaps the most voluminous of all German hymn-writers. He wrote 1188 religious poems and hymns, a large proportion of which do not rise above mediocrity. His style, if less refined, is also less subjective and more simple than that of most of his contemporaries. Among his best and most attractive works (which, indeed, it would be difficult to praise too highly) is the "*Hosianna! David's Sohn*," for Palm Sunday—much resembling a shorter hymn by Jeremy Taylor.

Hosianna! David's Sohn
Kommt in Zion eingezogen:
Ach bereitet ihm den thron,
Setzt ihm tausend ehrenbogen;
Streuet palmen, machet bahn,
Dass er einzug halten kann.

Hosianna! sei gegrüsst!
Komm, wir gehen dir entgegen:
Unser herz ist schon gerüst,
Will sich dir zu füssen legen.
Zeuch zu unsern thoren ein,
Du sollst uns willkommen sein.

Hosianna! friedensfürst,
Ehrenkönig, held im streite!
Alles, was du schaffen wirst,
Das ist unsre siegesbeute.
Deine rechte bleibt erhöht
Und dein reich allein besteht.

Hosianna! lieber gast,
Wir sind deine reichsgenossen,
Die du dir erwählet hast;
Ach so lass uns unverdrossen
Deinem scepter dienstbar sein;
Herrsche du in uns allein.

Hosianna! komme bald
Lass uns deine sanftmuth küssen;
Wollte gleich die knechtsgestalt
Deine majestät verschliessen,
Ei so kennet Zion schon
Gottes und auch David's Sohn.

Hosianna! steh uns bei!
O Herr hilf, lass wohlgelingen,
Dass wir ohne heuchelei
Dir das herz zum opfer bringen.
Du nimmst keinen jünger an,
Der dir nicht gehorchen kann.

Hosianna! lass uns hier
An den ölberg dich begleiten,
Bis wir einstens für und für
Dir ein psalmenlied bereiten.
Dort ist unser Bethphage:
Hosianna in der höh!

Hosianna nah und fern!
Eile bei uns einzugehen
Du gesegneter des Herrn,
Warum willst du draussen stehen?
Hosianna! bist du da?
Ja, du kommst, hallelujah!

Hosanna to the Son of David! Raise
Triumphal arches to His praise,
For Him prepare a throne
Who comes at last to Zion, to His own!
Strew palms around, make plain and straight
the way
For Him who His triumphal entry holds to-day!

Hosanna! welcome above all Thou art!
Make ready each to lay his heart
Low down before His feet!
Come, let us hasten forth our Lord to meet,
And bid Him enter in at Zion's gates,
Where thousand-voicèd welcome on His coming
waits.

Hosanna! Prince of Peace and Lord of Might!
We hail Thee Conqueror in the fight!
All Thou with toil hast won
Shall be our booty when the battle's done.
Thy right hand ever hath the rule and sway,
Thy kingdom standeth fast when all things else
decay.

Hosanna! best-beloved and noble Guest!
Who makest us by Thy behest
Heirs of Thy realm with Thee:
Oh let us therefore never weary be
To stand and serve before Thy righteous throne;
We know no King but Thee, rule Thou o'er us
alone!

Hosanna! come, the time draws on apace,
We long Thy mercy to embrace;
This servant's form can ne'er
Conceal the majesty Thy acts declare:
Too well art Thou here in Thy Zion known,
Who art the Son of God, and yet art David's
Son.

Hosanna! Lord, be Thou our help and friend,
Thy aid to us in mercy send,
That each may bring his soul
An offering unto Thee, unstain'd and whole.
Thou wilt have none for Thy disciples, Lord,
But those who truly keep, not only hear Thy word.

Hosanna! let us in Thy footsteps tread,
Nor that sad Mount of Olives dread
Where we must weep and watch,
Until the far-off song of joy we catch
From Heaven our Bethphage, where we shall sing
Hosanna in the highest to our God and King!

Hosanna! let us sound it far and wide!
Enter Thou in and here abide,
Thou Blessed of the Lord!
Why standest Thou without, why roam'st abroad?
Hosanna! make Thy home with us for ever!
Thou comest, Lord! and nought us from Thy love shall sever.
Hallelujah![1]

Dessler was a greater poet then Schmolke. Few hymns, of the subjective kind, are better than his "*Ich lass dich nicht, du Hülf in allen Nöthen*" ("I will not let Thee go, Thou Help in time of need"); "*Wie wohl ist mir, O Freund der Seelen*" ("O Friend of souls, how well is me"); and "*Oeffne mir die Perlenthoren*" ("Now the pearly gates unfold"), etc. Hiller was a pastor in

[1] Translated by Catherine Winkworth.

Würtemberg (1699-1769) who, falling into ill-health during the latter part of his ministry, published a *Casket of Spiritual Songs*, in a didactic vein, with more taste than power, but (as Miss Winkworth says) in a tone of "deep, thoughtful, practical piety." They were so well adapted to the wants of his people, that to this day Hiller's *Casket* is prized, next to their Bibles, by the peasantry of Würtemberg; and the numerous emigrants from that part of Germany to America and other foreign countries generally take it with them wherever they go. Arnold, a professor at Giessen, and afterwards a pastor in Brandenburg, was a man of strong will, uncompromising character, and austere views of life, intolerant and controversial towards those whose doctrine or practice he disapproved, and more indifferent to separatism and sectarianism than the "Orthodox" generally thought right. His hymns, like those of our own Toplady (whom in these respects he resembled), unite with considerable strength more gentleness and breadth of sympathy than might be expected from a man of such a character. Tersteegen

(1697-1769), who never formally separated himself from the "Reformed" communion, in which he was brought up, but whose sympathies were with the Moravians and Count Zinzendorf, was, of all the more copious German hymn-writers after Luther, perhaps the most remarkable man. Pietist, mystic, and missionary, he was also a great religious poet. His 111 hymns were published in 1731, in a volume called *The Spiritual Flower-garden*. They are intensely individual, meditative, and subjective. Wesley's adaptations of two—"*Lo! God is here; let us adore*," and "*Thou hidden Love of God, whose source*"—are well known. Miss Cox speaks of him as "a gentle heaven-inspired soul, whose hymns are the reflection of a heavenly, happy life, his mind being full of a child-like simplicity"; and his own poem on the child-character, which Miss Winkworth has appropriately connected with Innocents' Day, "*O liebe Seele! Könntst du werden*" ("Dear Soul, couldst thou become a child") —one of his best compositions, exquisitely conceived and expressed, though it can

hardly be called a hymn,—shows that this was in truth the ideal which he sought to realise.

The following stanzas (eight out of eleven) exhibit favourably his manner and power.

Kommt, brüder, lasst uns gehen,
Der Abend kommt herbei :
Es ist gefährlich stehen
In dieser wüstenei :
Kommt, stärket euren muth
Zur ewigkeit zu wandern,
Von einer kraft zur andern :
Es ist der ende gut.

Es soll uns nicht gereuen
Der schmale pilgerpfad,
Wir kennen ja den treuen,
Der uns gerufen hat :
Kommt, folgt und trauet dem ;
Ein jeder sein gesichte
Mit ganzer wendung richte
Fest nach Jerusalem.

Schmückt euer herz aufs beste,
Sonst weder leib noch haus ;
Wir sind hier fremde gäste,
Und ziehen bald hinaus :
Gemach bringt ungemach ;
Ein pilger muss sich schicken,
Soll dulden und sich bücken
Den kurzen pilgertag.

Kommt kinder, lasst uns gehen,
Der Vater gehet mit :
Er selbst will bei uns stehen
In jedem sauren tritt :

Er will uns machen muth,
Mit süssen sonnenblicken
Uns locken und erquicken :
Ach ja, wir habens gut.

Kommt kinder, lasst uns wandern,
Wir gehen hand in hand ;
Eins freuet sich am andern,
In diesem wilden land :
Kommt, lasst uns kindlich sein,
Uns auf dem weg nicht streiten,
Die engel uns begleiten
Als unsre brüderlein.

Kommt, lasst uns munter wandern,
Der weg kürzt immer ab ;
Ein tag der folgt dem andern,
Bald fällt das fleisch ins grab :
Nur noch ein wenig muth,
Nur noch ein wenig treuer,
Von allen dingen freier,
Gewandt zum ewgen gut.

Es wird nicht lang mehr währen,
Halt noch ein wenig aus ;
Es wird nicht lang mehr währen,
So kommen wir nach haus ;
Da wird man ewig ruhn,
Wenn wir mit allen frommen
Daheim zum Vater kommen ;
Wie wohl, wie wohl wirds thun.

O freund, den wir erlesen,
O allvergnügend gut,
O ewig bleibend wesen,
Wie reizest du den muth :
Wir freuen uns in dir,
Du unsre wonn und leben,
Worin wir ewig schweben,
Du unsre ganze zier.

Come, brethren, let us go!
The evening closeth round,
'Tis perilous to linger here
On this wild desert ground.
Come, towards eternity
Press on from strength to strength,
Nor dread your journey's toils nor length,
For good its end shall be.

We shall not rue our choice,
Though strait our path and steep,
We know that He who call'd us here
His word shall ever keep.
Then follow, trusting; come,
And let each set his face
Toward yonder fair and blessed place,
Intent to reach our home.

The body and the house
Deck not, but deck the heart
With all your powers; we are but guests,
Ere long we must depart.
Ease brings disease; content,
Howe'er his lot may fall,
A pilgrim bears and bows to all,
For soon the time is spent.

Come, children, let us go!
Our Father is our guide;
And when the way grows steep and dark,
He journeys at our side.
Our spirits He would cheer,
The sunshine of His love
Revives and helps us as we rove;
Ah! blest our lot, e'en here!

Come, children, let us go!
We travel hand in hand;
Each in his brother finds his joy
In this wild stranger land.

As children let us be,
Nor by the way fall out ;
The angels guard us round about,
And help us brotherly.

Come, wander on with joy,
For shorter grows the way ;
The hour that frees us from the flesh
Draws nearer day by day.
A little truth and love,
A little courage yet,
More free from earth, more apt to set
Your hopes on things above.

It will not last for long ;
A little further roam ;
It will not last much longer now
Ere we shall reach our home :
There shall we ever rest,
There with our Father dwell,
With all the saints who served Him well
There truly, deeply blest.

Friend of our perfect choice,
Thou joy of all that live,
Being that know'st nor chance nor change,
What courage Thou dost give !
All beauty, Lord, we see,
All bliss and life and love,
In Him in whom we live and move,
And we are glad in Thee ![1]

The hymns of Zinzendorf are often disfigured by excess in the application of the language and imagery of human affections

[1] Translated by Catherine Winkworth.

to Divine Objects; and this blemish is also found in many later Moravian hymns. But one hymn, at least, of Zinzendorf may be mentioned with unqualified praise, as uniting the merits of force, simplicity, and brevity—"*Jesu, geh voran*" ("Jesus, lead the way"), which is taught to most children of religious parents in Germany. Wesley's "*Jesus, Thy blood and righteousness*" is a translation from Zinzendorf.

The transition from Tersteegen and Zinzendorf to Gellert and Klopstock marks strongly the reaction against Pietism which took place towards the middle of the eighteenth century. The *Spiritual Odes and Songs* of C. F. Gellert were published in 1757, and are said to have been received with an enthusiasm almost like that which "greeted Luther's hymns on their first appearance." It is a proof of the moderation both of the author and of those times, that they were largely used, not only by Protestant congregations, but in those German Roman Catholic churches in which vernacular services were established through the influence of the emperor Joseph II. They

became the model which was followed by most succeeding hymn-writers, and exceeded all others in popularity till the close of the century, when a new wave of thought was generated by the movement which produced the French Revolution. Since that time they have been, perhaps, too much depreciated. They are, indeed, cold and didactic, as compared with Scheffler or Tersteegen; but there is nevertheless in them a spirit of genuine practical piety; and, if not marked by genius, they are pure in taste, and often terse, vigorous, and graceful.

Klopstock, the author of the *Messiah*, cannot be considered great as a hymn-writer, though his "Sabbath Hymn" (of which there is a version in *Hymns from the Land of Luther*) is simple and good. Generally his hymns (ten are translated in Mr. Sheppard's *Foreign Sacred Lyre*) are artificial and much too elaborate.

Of the "romantic" school, which came in with the French Revolution, the two leading writers are Frederick von Hardenberg, called "Novalis," and Frederick de la Motte Fouqué, the celebrated author of *Undine*

and *Sintram*,—both romance-writers, as well as poets. The genius of Novalis was early lost to the world; he died in 1801, just thirty years old. Some of his hymns are very beautiful; but even in his best works there is a feeling of insulation and of despondency as to good in the actual world, which was perhaps inseparable from his ecclesiastical idealism. Fouqué survived till 1843. In his hymns there is the same deep flow of feeling, richness of imagery, and charm of expression, which distinguishes his prose works. Among his best are the two missionary hymns—"*Wie schäumt so feierlich zu unsern Füssen*" ("Thou, solemn Ocean, rollest to the strand") and "*In die Segel sanft und linde*" ("In our sails all soft and sweetly")—and the exquisite composition which finds its motive in the gospel narrative of blind Bartimeus.

Was du vor tausend Jahren,
Mein Heiland, hast gethan,
Lässt du noch jetzt erfahren
Die so dir gläubig nahn.
So wie den armen Blinden,
Nach deines Worts Bericht,
Liess'st du mich Gnade finden
Und gabst mir Freud und Licht.

Betrübt sass ich am Wege,
Tiefblind in meinem Geist,
Sehnsucht im Herzen rege,
Doch Wehmuth allermeist :
Die Psalmen hört ich singen,
Die Palmen fühlt ich wehn,
Die dir die Gläubgen bringen,
Und konnte dich nicht sehn.

Zu gross wards mit dem Schmerze,
Zu drückend ward die Pein,
Da fasst ich mir ein Herze,
Hub an nach dir zu schrein :
Sohn David's, rette, heile,
Wie du's verheissen hast ;
O liebster Jesu, eile,
Nimm von mir Nacht und Last.

Und immer heisser weinend,
Mit immer lauterm Wort,
Stets mehr mein Herz entsteinend,
Fuhr ich zu rufen fort.
Da ward mein Aengsten minder,
Da sagte was zu mir :
Getrost, du armer Blinder,
Getrost, er rufet dir !

Du standst, ich fühlt es, stille,
Ich wankte zu dir hin,
Abfiel mein eigner Wille,
Verändert war der Sinn.
Du sprachst : Was willst du haben ?
O Herr, ich möchte sehn,
An deinem Blick mich laben,
Du sprachst : Es soll geschehn !

Und was du hast gesprochen,
Das fehlt ja nimmer nicht ;
Mein Zagen ward gebrochen
Und meiner Seele Licht.

Du giebst mir deinen Segen ;
Frei von der alten Schmach,
Folg ich auf deinen Wegen
Dir, Herr, in Freuden nach.

A thousand years have fleeted,
And, Saviour, still we see
Thy deed of love repeated
On all who come to Thee.
As he who sat benighted,
Afflicted, poor, and blind,
So now, Thy word is plighted,
Joy, light, and peace I find.

Dark gloom my spirit filling,
Beside the way I sat ;
Desire my heart was thrilling,
But anguish more than that :
To me no ray was granted,
Although I heard the psalms
The faithful sweetly chanted,
And felt the waving palms.

With grief my heart was aching,
O'erwhelming were my woes,
Till, heaven-born courage taking,
To thee my cry arose :
"O David's Son, relieve me,
My bitter anguish quell ;
Thy promis'd succour give me,
And this dark night dispel !"

With tears that fast were flowing,
I sought Thee through the crowd,
My heart more tender growing,
Until I wept aloud :

Oh! then my grief diminish'd;
For then they cried to me,
"Blind man, thy woe is finish'd:
Arise, He calleth thee."

I came with steps that falter'd,
Thy course I felt Thee check;
Then straight my mind was alter'd,
And bowed my stubborn neck.
Thou saidst, "What art thou seeking?'
"O Lord! that I might see!"
Oh! then I heard Thee speaking:
"Believe, and it shall be."

Our hope, Lord, faileth never,
When Thou Thy word dost plight:
My fears then ceased for ever,
And all my soul was light.
Thou gavest me Thy blessing;
From former guilt set free,
Now heavenly joy possessing,
O Lord! I follow Thee.[1]

The later German hymn-writers of the present century are numerous, and belong, generally, to the revived "Pietistic" school. Some of the best, *e.g.* Arndt, Albertini, Krummacher, and especially Spitta, have produced works not unworthy of the fame of their nation. Mr. Massie, the able translator of Spitta's *Psaltery and Harp* (published at Leipsic in 1833), speaks of it as having "obtained for him in Germany a popularity

[1] Translated by Frances Elizabeth Cox.

only second to that of Paul Gerhardt." Such praise is hyperbolical; posterity alone can adjust the relative places of the writers of this and of former generations. In Spitta's poems (for such they generally are, rather than hymns) the subjective and meditative tone is tempered, not ungracefully, with a didactic element; and they are not, like some contemporary hymns, disfigured by exaggerated sentiment, or by a too florid and rhetorical style.[1]

[1] The best and fullest modern collection of choice German hymns is that of Baron von Bunsen, in his *Versuch eines allgemeinen Gesang- und Gebetbuchs* of 1833, unfortunately not reprinted after the first edition. This contains about 900 hymns. In his later *Allgemeines evangelisches Gesang- und Gebetbuch* of 1846 the number was reduced to 440. Many other authors, besides those who have been here mentioned, are represented in these collections, and also in the excellent English translations contained in the *Lyra Germanica* of Miss Winkworth; Miss Cox's *Sacred Hymns from the German*; Miss Fry's *Hymns of the Reformation*; Miss Dunn's *Hymns from the German;* the Misses Borthwick's *Hymns from the Land of Luther*; and the Rev. Arthur T. Russell's *Hymns for the Church of England.* In Cunz's *Geschichte des deutschen Kirchenliedes* (Leipsic, 1855) the number of German hymn-writers named considerably exceeds 300. Besides the volumes of mixed translations from different authors just enumerated, (of which the earliest is that of Miss Cox, 1841), translations of Luther's

6. British Hymnody

After the Reformation the development of hymnody was retarded, in both parts of Great Britain, by the example and influence of Geneva. Archbishop Cranmer appears at one time to have been disposed to follow Luther's course, and to present to the people,

hymns were published by Mr. John Hunt, of Preston, in 1853, and by Mr. Massie, of Eccleston, in 1854. The *Lyra Domestica* of Mr. Massie (which appeared in 1860) contains his translations from Spitta. A much earlier series of English versions of ninety-three mixed German hymns was published in 1722, 1725, and 1732, by John Christian Jacobi, under the patronage of Caroline, queen of George II. To this collection, entitled *Psalmodia Germanica*, a supplement, containing thirty-one more, and also two Latin hymns by Petersen, was added by John Haberkorn in 1765, with a dedication to the mother of George III. Some of these are now sung (though not without considerable alteration) in English churches.

Much of the historical and critical information contained in the foregoing account of German hymnody has been taken from Miss Winkworth's book, entitled *Christian Singers of Germany* (Macmillan, 1869); and from her also are in most instances taken the English renderings of the first lines of hymns. The principal German authorities on the subject, Wackernagel's *Das Deutsche Kirchenlied*, Koch's *Geschichte des Kirchenliedes und Kirchengesanges*, etc., are mentioned in her preface; to which may be added the work already mentioned, of F. A. Cunz.

in an English dress, some at least of the hymns of the ancient church. In a letter to King Henry VIII. (7th October 1544), among some new "processions" which he had himself translated into English, he mentions the Easter hymn, "*Salve, festa dies, toto memorabilis ævo*" ("Hail, glad day, to be joyfully kept through all generations"), of Fortunatus. In the two "Primers," of 1535 (by Marshall), and of 1539 (by Bishop Hilsey of Rochester, published by order of the King's vicar-general Cromwell), there had been several rude English hymns, none of them taken from ancient sources. King Henry's "Primer" of 1545 (commanded by his injunction of the 6th May 1545 to be used throughout his dominions) was formed on the model of the daily offices of the Breviary; and it contains English metrical translations from some of the best-known Ambrosian and other early hymns. But in the succeeding reign different views prevailed. A new direction had been given to the taste of the "Reformed" congregations in France and Switzerland, by the French metrical translation of the Old Testament

Psalms, which appeared about 1540. This was the joint work of Clement Marot, valet or groom of the chamber to Francis I., and Theodore Beza, then a mere youth, fresh from his studies under Wolmar at Orleans.

Marot's Psalms were dedicated to the French king and the ladies of France, and, being set to popular airs, became fashionable. They were sung by Francis himself, and by the queen, the princesses, and the courtiers, upon all sorts of secular occasions; and also, more seriously and religiously, by the citizens and the common people. They were soon perceived to be a power on the side of the Reformation. Calvin, who had settled at Geneva in the year of Marot's return to Paris, was then organising his ecclesiastical system. He rejected the hymnody of the Breviaries and Missals, and fell back upon the idea, anciently held by Paul of Samosata, and condemned by the fourth council of Toledo, that whatever was sung in churches ought to be taken out of the Scriptures. Marot's Psalter, appearing thus opportunely, was introduced into his new system of worship, and appended to his catechism.

On the other hand, it was interdicted by the Roman Catholic priesthood. Thus it became a badge to the one party of the "Reformed" profession, and to the other of heresy.

The example thus set produced in England the translation commonly known as the "Old Version" of the Psalms. It was begun by Thomas Sternhold, whose position in the household of Henry VIII., and afterwards of Edward VI., was similar to that of Marot with Francis I., and whose services to the former of those kings were rewarded by a substantial legacy under his will. Sternhold published versions of thirty-seven Psalms in 1549, with a dedication to King Edward, and died soon afterwards. A second edition appeared in 1551, with seven more Psalms added, by John Hopkins, a Suffolk clergyman. The work was continued during Queen Mary's reign by British refugees at Geneva, the chief of whom were William Whittingham (afterwards Dean of Durham), who succeeded John Knox as minister of the English congregation there, and William Kethe (or Keith), said by

Strype to have been a Scotchman. They published at Geneva in 1556 a service-book, containing fifty-one English metrical Psalms, which number was increased, in later editions, to eighty-seven. On the accession of Queen Elizabeth, this Genevan Psalmody was at once brought into use in England, —first (according to a letter of Bishop Jewell to Peter Martyr, dated 5th March 1560) in one London church, from which it quickly spread to others, both in London and in other cities. Jewell describes the effect produced by large congregations, of as many as 6000 persons, young and old, women and children, singing it after the sermons at St. Paul's Cross;—adding, "*Id sacrificos et diabolum ægre habet; vident enim sacras conciones hoc pacto profundius descendere in hominum animos.*" The first edition of the completed "Old Version" (containing forty Psalms by Sternhold, sixty-seven by Hopkins, fifteen by Whittingham, six by Kethe, and the rest by Thomas Norton a barrister, Robert Wisdom, John Mardley, and Thomas Churchyard) appeared in 1562.

In the meantime, the Books of Common Prayer, of 1549, 1552, and 1559, had been successively established as law by the Acts of Uniformity of Edward VI. and Queen Elizabeth. In these no provision was made for the use of any metrical psalm or hymn on any occasion whatever, except at the consecration of bishops and the ordination of priests, in which offices (first added in 1552) an English version of "*Veni Creator*" (the longer of the two now in use) was appointed to be "said or sung." The canticles, "*Te Deum*," "*Benedicite*," etc., the Nicene and Athanasian Creeds, the "*Gloria in Excelsis*," and some other parts of the communion and other special offices, were also directed to be "said or sung"; and, by general rubrics, the chanting of the whole service was allowed.

The silence, however, of the rubrics in these books, as to any other singing, was not meant to exclude the use of psalms not expressly appointed, when they could be used without interfering with the prescribed order of any service. It was expressly provided by King Edward's First Act of

Uniformity (by later Acts made applicable to the later books) that it should be lawful "for all men, as well in churches, chapels, oratories, or other places, to use openly any psalms or prayers taken out of the Bible, at any due time, not letting or omitting thereby the service, or any part thereof, mentioned in the book." And Queen Elizabeth, by one of the injunctions issued in the first year of her reign, declared her desire, that the provision made, "in divers collegiate and also some parish churches, for singing in the church, so as to promote the laudable service of music," should continue. After allowing the use of "a modest and distinct song in all parts of the common prayers of the church, so that the same may be as plainly understanded as if it were read without singing," the injunction proceeded thus—"And yet, nevertheless, for the comforting of such that delight in music, it may be permitted that in the beginning or in the end of the Common Prayer, either at morning or evening, there may be sung an hymn, or such like song to the praise of Almighty God, in the best sort

of melody and music that may be conveniently devised, having respect that the sentence" (*i.e.* sense) "of hymn may be understanded and perceived."

The "Old Version," when published (by John Daye, for the Stationers' Company, "cum gratia et privilegio Regiæ Majestatis"), bore upon the face of it that it was "newly set forth, and allowed to be sung of the people in churches, before and after morning and evening prayer, as also before and after the sermon." The question of its authority has been at different times much debated, chiefly by Heylin and Thomas Warton on one side (both of whom disliked and disparaged it), and by Bishop Beveridge and the Rev. H. J. Todd on the other. Heylin says it was "permitted rather than allowed," which seems to be a distinction without difference. "Allowance," which is all that the book claimed for itself, is authorisation by way of permission, not of commandment. Its publication in that form could hardly have been licensed, nor could it have passed into use as it did without question, throughout the churches of Eng-

land, unless it had been "allowed" by some authority then esteemed to be sufficient. Whether that authority was royal or ecclesiastical, does not appear; nor (considering the proviso in King Edward's Act of Uniformity, and Queen Elizabeth's injunctions) is it very important. No inference can justly be drawn from the inability of inquirers, in Heylin's time or since, to discover any public record bearing upon this subject; many public documents of that period having been lost.

In this book, as published in 1562, and for many years afterwards, there were (besides the versified Psalms) eleven metrical versions of the "*Te Deum*," canticles, Lord's Prayer, etc. etc. (the best of which is that of the "*Benedicite*"); and also "*Da pacem, Domine*," a hymn suitable to the times, rendered into English from Luther; two original hymns of praise, to be sung before Morning and Evening Prayer; two penitential hymns (one of them the "*Humble Lamentation of a Sinner*"); and a hymn of faith, beginning, "*Lord, in Thee is all my trust.*" In these respects, and also in the

tunes which accompanied the words (stated by Dr. Burney, in his *History of Music*, to be German, and not French), there was a departure from the Genevan platform. Some of these hymns, and some of the psalms also (*e.g.* those by Robert Wisdom, being alternative versions), were omitted at a later period; and many alterations and supposed amendments were from time to time made by unknown hands in the Psalms which remained; so that the text, as now printed, is in many places different from that of 1562.

In Scotland, the General Assembly of the kirk caused to be printed at Edinburgh in 1564, and enjoined the use of, a book entitled *The Form of Prayers and Ministry of the Sacraments used in the English Church at Geneva, approved and received by the Church of Scotland; whereto, besides that was in the former books, are also added sundry other prayers, with the whole Psalms of David in English metre.* This contained all the Psalms of the "Old Version" by Sternhold, Whittingham, and Kethe, but only thirty-seven of those by Hopkins, and none

by any of the other English translators. Instead of those omitted, it had nineteen more by Kethe and Whittingham; one by John Pulleyn (one of the Genevan refugees, who became Archdeacon of Colchester); six by Robert Pont, Knox's son-in-law, who was a minister of the kirk, and also a lord of session; and fifteen signed with the initials I. C., supposed to be John Craig.

So matters continued in both churches until the Rebellion. During the interval, King James I. conceived the project of himself making a new version of the Psalms, and appears to have translated thirty-one of them,—the correction of which, together with the translation of the rest, he entrusted to Sir William Alexander, afterwards Earl of Stirling. Sir William having completed his task, King Charles the First (after having it examined and approved by several archbishops and bishops of England, Scotland, and Ireland) caused it to be printed in 1631 at the Oxford University Press, as the work of King James; and, by an order under the royal sign manual, recommended its use in all churches of his dominions. In 1634 he

enjoined the Privy Council of Scotland not to suffer any other Psalms, "of any edition whatever," to be printed in or imported into that kingdom. In 1636 it was republished, and was attached to the famous Scottish Service-book, with which the troubles began in 1637. It need hardly be added that the king did not succeed in bringing this Psalter into use in either kingdom.

When the Long Parliament undertook, in 1642, the task of altering the liturgy, its attention was at the same time directed to psalmody. It had to judge between two rival translations of the Psalms—one by Francis Rouse, a member of the House of Commons, afterwards one of Cromwell's councillors, and finally provost of Eton; the other by William Barton, a clergyman of Leicester. The House of Lords favoured Barton, the House of Commons Rouse, who had made much use of the labours of Sir William Alexander. Both versions were printed by order of Parliament, and were referred for consideration to the Westminster Assembly. They decided in favour of Rouse. His version, as finally amended,

was published in 1646, under an order of the House of Commons dated 14th November 1645. In the following year it was recommended by the Parliament to the General Assembly at Edinburgh, who appointed a committee, with large powers, to prepare a revised Psalter; recommending to their consideration not only Rouse's book but that of 1564, and two other versions (by Zachary Boyd, and Sir William Mure of Rowallan), then lately executed in Scotland. The result of the labours of this committee was the "Paraphrase" of the Psalms, which, in 1649-1650, by the concurrent authority of the General Assembly and the Committee of Estates, was ordered to be exclusively used throughout the church of Scotland. Some use was made in the preparation of this book of the versions to which the attention of the revisers had been directed, and also of Barton's; but its basis was that of Rouse. It was received in Scotland with great favour, which it has ever since retained; and it is fairly entitled to the praise of striking a tolerable medium between the rude homeliness of the "Old,"

and the artificial modernism of the "New" English versions—perhaps as great a success as was possible for such an undertaking. Sir Walter Scott is said to have dissuaded any attempt to alter it, and to have pronounced it, "with all its acknowledged occasional harshness, so beautiful, that any alterations must eventually prove only so many blemishes." No further step towards any authorised hymnody was taken by the kirk of Scotland till the following century.

In England, two changes bearing on church hymnody were made, upon the revision of the Prayer-book after the Restoration, in 1661-1662. One was the addition, in the offices for consecrating bishops and ordaining priests, of the shorter version of "*Veni Creator*" ("Come, Holy Ghost, our souls inspire"),[1] as an alternative form. The other, and more important, was the insertion of the rubric after the third Collect at Morning and Evening Prayer: "In quires and places where they sing, here followeth the Anthem." By this rubric, synodical and parliamentary authority was

[1] By Bishop Cosin.

given for the interruption, at that point, of the prescribed order of the service by singing an anthem; the choice of which was left to the discretion of the minister. Those actually used, under this authority, were, from the first,[1] hymns in verse, as well as unmetrical passages of Scripture, set to music by Blow, Purcell, and other composers, of the same kind with the anthems still generally sung in cathedral and collegiate churches. The word "anthem" had no technical signification, which could be an obstacle to the use under this rubric of metrical hymns.

The "New Version" of the Psalms, by Dr. Nicholas Brady and the poet-laureate Nahum Tate (both Irishmen), appeared in 1696, under the sanction of an order in council of William III., "allowing and permitting" its use "in all such churches, chapels, and congregations as should think fit to receive it." Dr. Compton, Bishop of London, recommended it to his diocese. No hymns were then appended to it; but

[1] There are such hymns in the earliest anthem-book of Charles the Second's Chapel Royal.

the authors added a "Supplement" in 1703, which received a similar sanction from an order in council of Queen Anne. In that Supplement there were several new versions of the canticles, etc., and of the "*Veni Creator*"; a variation of the old "*Humble Lamentation of a Sinner*"; six hymns for Christmas, Easter, and Holy Communion (all versions or paraphrases of Scripture), which are still usually printed at the end of the Prayer-books containing the new version; and a hymn "*On the Divine use of Music*";—all accompanied by tunes. The authors also reprinted, with very good taste, the excellent version of the "*Benedicite*" which appeared in the book of 1562. Of the hymns in this "Supplement," one ("*While shepherds watched their flocks by night*") greatly exceeded the rest in merit. It has been ascribed to Tate; but it has a character of simplicity unlike the rest of his works.

The relative merits of the "Old" and "New" versions have been very variously estimated. Competent judges have given the old the praise, which certainly cannot be

accorded to the new, of fidelity to the Hebrew. In both, it must be admitted that those parts which have poetical merit are few and far between; but a reverent taste is likely to be more offended by the frequent sacrifice, in the new, of depth of tone and accuracy of sense to a fluent commonplace correctness of versification and diction, than by any excessive homeliness in the old. In both, however, some Psalms, or portions of Psalms, are well enough rendered to entitle them to a permanent place in our hymn-books,—especially the 8th, and parts of the 18th Psalm, by Sternhold; the 57th and 84th, by Hopkins; the 100th, which is probably[1] by Kethe; and the 23rd, 34th, and 36th, and part of the 148th, by Tate and Brady.

The judgment which a fastidious critic might be disposed to pass upon both these books may perhaps be considerably mitigated

[1] This question is discussed in Mr. Julian's *Dictionary of Hymnology*. The old 100th Psalm was attributed in the Anglo-Genevan Psalter of 1561 to Sternhold; in the Scottish and another reprint from that book, of 1561 and 1564, to Kethe; and in Daye's Psalter of 1587 to Hopkins.

by comparing them with the works of other labourers in the same field; of whom Mr. Holland, in his interesting volumes entitled *Psalmists of Great Britain*, enumerates above 150. Some of them have been real poets—the celebrated Earl of Surrey, Sir Philip Sidney and his sister the Countess of Pembroke, George Sandys, George Wither, John Milton, and John Keble. In their versions, as might be expected, there are occasional gleams of power and beauty, exceeding anything to be found in Sternhold and Hopkins, or Tate and Brady; but even in the best these are rare, and chiefly occur where the strict idea of translation has been most widely departed from. In all of them, as a rule, the life and spirit, which in prose versions of the Psalms are so wonderfully preserved, have disappeared. The conclusion practically suggested by so many failures is, that the difficulties of metrical translation, always great, are in this case insuperable; and that, while the Psalms (like other parts of Scripture) are abundantly suggestive of motive and material for hymnographers, it is by assimilation and

adaptation, and not by any attempt to transform their exact sense into modern poetry, that they may be best used for this purpose.

The order in council of 1703 is the latest act of any public authority by which an express sanction has been given to the use of psalms or hymns in the Church of England. At the end, indeed, of many modern Prayer-books there will be found, besides some of the hymns sanctioned by that order in council, or of those contained in the book of 1562, a Sacramental and a Christmas hymn by Doddridge; a Christmas hymn (varied by Martin Madan) from Charles Wesley; an Easter hymn of the eighteenth century, beginning "*Jesus Christ has risen to day*"; and abridgments of Bishop Ken's Morning and Evening Hymns. These additions first began to be made in or about 1791, in London editions of the Prayer-book and Psalter, at the mere will and pleasure (so far as appears) of the printers. They have no sort of authority.

In the state of authority, opinion, and practice disclosed by the preceding narrative, may be found the true explanation of the

fact, that, in the country of Chaucer, Spenser, Shakespeare, and Milton, and notwithstanding the example of Germany, no native congregational hymnody worthy of the name arose till after the commencement of the eighteenth century. Yet there was no want of appreciation of the power and value of congregational church music. Milton could write, before 1645,—

> There let the pealing organ blow
> To the full-voiced quire below
> In service high, and anthems clear,
> As may with sweetness through mine ear
> Dissolve me into ecstasies,
> And bring all Heaven before mine eyes.

Thomas Mace, in his *Music's Monument* (1676), described the effect of psalm-singing before sermons, by the congregation in York Minster on Sundays, during the siege of 1644: "When that vast concording unity of the whole congregational chorus came thundering in, even so as it made the very ground shake under us, oh, the unutterable ravishing soul's delight! in the which I was so transported and wrapt up in high contemplations, that there was no room left in my whole man, body, soul, and spirit, for

anything below divine and heavenly raptures; nor could there possibly be anything to which that very singing might be truly compared, except the right apprehension or conceiving of that glorious and miraculous quire, recorded in the Scriptures at the dedication of the Temple." Nor was there any want of men well qualified, and by the turn of their minds predisposed, to shine in this branch of literature. Some (like Sandys, Boyd, and Barton) devoted themselves altogether to paraphrases of other Scriptures as well as the Psalms. Others (like George Herbert, and Francis and John Quarles) moralised, meditated, soliloquised, and allegorised in verse. Without reckoning these, there were a few, even before the Restoration, who came very near to the ideal of hymnody.

First in time is the Scottish poet John Wedderburn, who translated several of Luther's hymns, and in his *Compendious Book of Godly and Spiritual Songs* added others of his own (or his brothers') composition. Some of these poems, published before 1560, are of uncommon excellence,

uniting ease and melody of rhythm, and structural skill, with grace of expression, and simplicity, warmth, and reality of religious feeling. Those entitled "*Give me thy heart*," "*Go, heart*," and "*Leave me not*" (which will be found in a collection of 1860 called *Sacred Songs of Scotland*), require little, beyond the change of some archaisms of language, to adapt them for church or domestic use at the present day.

Next come the two hymns of "The New Jerusalem," by an English Roman Catholic priest signing himself F. B. P. (supposed by the late Mr. Sedgwick to be "Francis Baker, Presbyter"), and by a Scottish poet, David Dickson, of which the history is given by Dr. Bonar, in his edition of Dickson's work. This (Dickson's), which begins "*O mother dear, Jerusalem*," and has long been popular in Scotland, is a variation and amplification (by the addition of a large number of new stanzas) of the English original, beginning "*Jerusalem, my happy home*," written in Queen Elizabeth's time, and printed (as appears by a copy in the British Museum) about 1616, when Dick-

son was still young. Both are in great part founded on Cardinal Damiani's "Rhythm on the glory and joys of Paradise"; both have an easy natural flow, and a simple happy rendering of the beautiful Scriptural imagery upon the subject, with a spirit of primitive devotion uncorrupted by mediæval peculiarities. The English hymn (of which some stanzas are now often sung in churches) is the true parent of the several shorter forms—all of more than common merit—which, in modern hymn-books, begin with the same first line, but afterwards deviate from the original. Kindred to these is the very fine and faithful translation, by Drummond of Hawthornden (who was Dickson's contemporary), of the ancient "*Urbs beata Hierusalem*" ("Jerusalem, that place divine"). Other ancient hymns (two of Thomas Aquinas, and the "*Dies Iræ*") were also well translated, in 1646, by Crashaw, after he had become a Roman Catholic, and had been deprived by the Parliament of his fellowship at Cambridge.

Conspicuous among the sacred poets of the two first Stuart reigns in England is the

name of George Wither, an accomplished layman, of strong church principles, whose fate it was to be opposed and slighted while he was a staunch churchman and Royalist, and afterwards to be driven into the Parliamentary and Puritan ranks; for which cause, probably, recognition was denied to his genius as a poet by Dryden, Swift, and Pope. He had almost fallen into oblivion, when attention was recalled to his merits by the more discerning criticisms of Charles Lamb and Southey; and, when his *Hallelujah* was republished in 1857 by Mr. Farr, only two copies of it were known to exist, one in the British Museum, and another which had been in Mr. Heber's library. His *Hymns and Songs of the Church* appeared in 1622-23, under a patent of King James I., by which they were declared "worthy and profitable to be inserted, in convenient manner and due place, into every English Psalm-book to metre." This patent was opposed, as inconsistent with their privilege to print the "singing-psalms," by the Stationers' Company, to Wither's great mortification and loss. His *Hallelujah* (in which some

of the former *Hymns and Songs* were repeated) followed, after several intermediate publications of a different kind, in 1641. The *Hymns and Songs* were set to music by Orlando Gibbons; and those in both books were written to be sung, though for the most part privately, there being no evidence that the author contemplated the use of any of them in churches. They included, however, hymns for every day in the week (founded, as those contributed nearly a century afterwards by Coffin to the Parisian Breviary also were, upon the successive works of the days of creation); hymns for all the church seasons and festivals, including saints' days; hymns for various public occasions; and hymns of prayer, meditation, and instruction, for a great number of different sorts and conditions of men and women, in a variety of circumstances incident to human life,—being at once a "Christian Year" and a manual of practical piety. Many of them rise to a high point of excellence,—particularly the "general invitation to praise God" ("*Come, O come, in pious lays*"), with

which *Hallelujah* opens ; the Thanksgivings for Peace and for Victory, the Coronation Hymn, a Christmas, an Epiphany, and an Easter Hymn, and one for St. Bartholomew's day.[1] All these are properly entitled to the designation of hymns; which can hardly be conceded to some others, of singular beauty, viz. the Cradle-song ("*Sleep, baby, sleep, what ails my dear*"), the Anniversary Marriage Song ("*Lord, living here are we*"), the Perambulation Song ("*Lord, it hath pleasèd Thee to say*"), the Song for Lovers "*Come, sweet heart, come, let us prove*"), the Song for the Happily Married ("*Since they in singing take delight*"), and that for a Shepherd ("*Renownèd men their herds to keep*").[2] There is also in the second part a fine song (No. 59), of historical as well as poetical interest, upon the evil times in which the poet lived, beginning—

> Now are the times, these are the days,
> Which will those men approve
> Who take delight in honest ways
> And pious courses love ;

[1] Hymns 1, 74, 75, and 84 in part i., and 26, 29, 36, and 54 in part ii., of *Hallelujah*.

[2] Nos. 50 in the first part, 17 and 24 in the second, and 20, 21, and 41 in the third.

Now to the world it will appear
That innocence of heart
Will keep us far more free from fear
Than helmet, shield, or dart.

Wither wrote, generally, in a pure nervous English idiom, and preferred the reputation of "rusticity" (an epithet applied to him by Baxter) to the tricks and artifices of poetical style which were then in favour. It may be partly on that account that he has been better appreciated by posterity than by his contemporaries.

Cosin, afterwards Bishop of Durham, published in 1627 a volume of "Private Devotions," for the canonical hours and other occasions. In this there are seven or eight hymns of considerable merit—among them a very good version of the Ambrosian "*Jam lucis orto sidere*," and the shorter version of the "*Veni Creator*," which was introduced after the Restoration into the consecration and ordination services of the Church of England.

The hymns of Milton (on the Nativity, Passion, Circumcision, and "at a Solemn Music"), written about 1629, in his early manhood, were probably not intended for

singing; they are odes full of characteristic beauty and power.

During the Commonwealth, in 1654, Jeremy Taylor published, at the end of his *Golden Grove*, twenty-one hymns, described by himself as "celebrating the mysteries and chief festivals of the year, according to the manner of the ancient church, fitted to the fancy and devotion of the younger and pious persons, apt for memory, and to be joined to their other prayers." Of these, his accomplished editor, Bishop Heber, justly said:—

"They are in themselves, and on their own account, very interesting compositions. Their metre, indeed, which is that species of spurious Pindaric which was fashionable with his contemporaries, is an obstacle, and must always have been one, to their introduction into public or private psalmody; and the mixture of that alloy of conceits and quibbles which was an equally frequent and still greater defilement of some of the finest poetry of the seventeenth century will materially diminish their effect as devotional or descriptive odes. Yet, with all these faults, they are powerful, affecting, and often harmonious; there are many passages of which Cowley need not have been ashamed, and some which remind us, not disadvantageously, of the corresponding productions of Milton."

He mentions particularly the Advent hymn ("*Lord, come away*"), part of the

hymn "On Heaven," and (as "more regular in metre, and in words more applicable to public devotion") the "Prayer for Charity" ("*Full of mercy, full of love*").

The epoch of the Restoration produced in 1664 Samuel Crossman's *Young Man's Calling*, with a few "Divine Meditations" in verse attached to it; in 1668 John Austin's *Devotions in the Ancient Way of Offices, with psalms, hymns, and prayers for every day in the week and every holyday in the year*; and in 1681 Richard Baxter's *Poetical Fragments*. In these books there are altogether seven or eight hymns, the whole or parts of which are extremely good: — Crossman's "New Jerusalem" ("*Sweet place, sweet place alone*"), one of the best of that class, and "*My life's a shade, my days*"; Austin's "*Hark, my soul, how everything*," "*Fain would my thoughts fly up to Thee*," "*Lord, now the time returns*," "*Wake all my hopes, lift up your eyes*"; and Baxter's "*My whole, though broken heart, O Lord*," and "*Ye holy angels bright*." Austin's *Offices* (he was a Roman Catholic) seem to have attracted much attention.

Theophilus Dorrington, in 1686, and afterwards Hickes, the nonjuror, published variations of them under the title of *Reformed Devotions*; and the Wesleys, in their earliest hymn-book, adopted hymns from them, with little alteration.

Four stanzas, from a longer hymn of Austin, may be taken as a simple and good example of his style:—

Blest be Thy love, dear Lord,
That taught us this sweet way,
Only to love Thee for Thyself,
And for that love obey.

O Thou, our souls' chief hope!
We to Thy mercy fly:
Where'er we are, Thou canst protect,
Whate'er we need, supply.

Whether we sleep or wake,
To Thee we both resign;
By night we see, as well as day,
If Thy light on us shine.

Whether we live or die,
Both we submit to Thee;
In death we live, as well as life,
If Thine in death we be.

These writers were followed by John Mason in 1683, and Thomas Shepherd in 1692,—the former, a country clergyman,

much esteemed by Baxter and other Nonconformists; the latter himself a Nonconformist, who finally emigrated to America. Between these two men there was a close alliance, Shepherd's *Penitential Cries* being published as an addition to the *Spiritual Songs* of Mason. Their hymns came into early use in several Nonconformist congregations; but, with the exception of one by Mason ("*There is a stream which issues forth*"), they are not suitable for public singing. In those of Mason there is often a fine vein of poetry; and later authors have, by extracts or centos from different parts of his works (where they were not disfigured by his general quaintness), constructed several hymns of more than average excellence.

Of the following four stanzas,[1] each is taken from a different hymn by Mason:—

Lord, in the day Thou art about
The paths wherein I tread;
And in the night, when I lie down,
Thou art about my bed.

[1] In the Rev. John Hampden Gurney's hymn-book for the churches of St. Marylebone.

While others in God's prisons lie,
Bound with affliction's chain,
I walk at large, secure and free
From sickness and from pain.

'Tis Thou dost crown my hopes and plans
With good success each day;
This crown, together with myself,
At Thy blest feet I lay.

O let my house a temple be,
That I and mine may sing
Hosanna to Thy majesty,
And praise our heavenly King!

Three other eminent names of the seventeenth century remain to be mentioned, John Dryden, Bishop Ken, and Bishop Simon Patrick; with which may be associated that of Addison, though he wrote in the eighteenth.

Dryden's translation of "*Veni Creator*" (a cold and laboured performance) is to be met with in many hymn-books. Abridgments of Ken's Morning and Evening Hymns are in all. These, with the Midnight Hymn (not inferior to them), first appeared in 1697, appended to the third edition of the author's *Manual of Prayers for Winchester Scholars*. Between these and a large number of other hymns (on the

Attributes of God, and for the Festivals of the Church) published by Bishop Ken after 1703 the contrast is remarkable. The universal acceptance of the Morning and Evening Hymns is due to their transparent simplicity, warm but not overstrained devotion, and extremely popular style. Those afterwards published have no such qualities. They are mystical, florid, stiff, didactic, and seldom poetical, and deserve the neglect into which they have fallen. Bishop Patrick's hymns were chiefly translations from the Latin, most of them from Prudentius. The best is a version of "*Alleluia dulce carmen.*" Of the five attributed to Addison, not more than three are adapted to public singing; one ("*The spacious firmament on high*") is a very perfect and finished composition, taking rank among the best hymns in the English language.[1]

[1] The authorship of this and of one other, "*When all Thy mercies, O my God,*" has been made a subject of controversy, — being claimed for Andrew Marvell (who died in 1678), in the preface to Captain Thomson's edition (1776) of Marvell's *Works.* But this claim does not appear to be substantiated. The editor did not give his readers the means of judging as to the real age, character, or

From the preface to Simon Browne's hymns, published in 1720, we learn that down to the time of Dr. Watts the only hymns known to be "in common use, either in private families or in Christian assemblies," were those of Barton, Mason, and Shepherd, together with "an attempt to turn some of Mr. Herbert's poems into common metre," and a few sacramental hymns by authors now forgotten, Vincent, Boyse, and (Joseph) Stennett. Of the 1410 authors of original British hymns enumerated in Mr. Sedgwick's catalogue, published in 1863, 1213 are of later date than 1707;

value of a manuscript to which he referred; he did not say that these portions of it were in Marvell's handwriting; he did not even himself include them among Marvell's poems, as published in the body of his edition; and he advanced a like claim on like ground to two other poems, in very different styles, which had been published as their own by Tickell and Mallet. It is certain that all the five hymns were first made public in 1712, in papers contributed by Addison to the *Spectator* (Nos. 441, 453, 465, 489, 513), in which they were introduced in a way which might have been expected if they were by the hand which wrote those papers, but which would have been improbable, and unworthy of Addison, if they were unpublished works of a writer of so much genius, and such note in his day, as Marvell. They are all printed as Addison's in Dr. Johnson's edition of the *British Poets*.

and, if any correct enumeration could be made of the total number of hymns of all kinds published in Great Britain before and after that date, the proportion subsequent to 1707 would be very much larger.

The English Independents, as represented by Dr. Watts, have a just claim to be considered the real founders of modern English hymnody. Watts was the first to understand the nature of the want; and, by the publication of his *Hymns* in 1707-1709, and *Psalms* (not translations, but hymns founded on psalms) in 1719, he led the way in providing for it. His immediate followers were Simon Browne and Doddridge. Later in the eighteenth century, Hart, Gibbons, Grigg, and Mrs. Barbauld (the two first Independents, the two last Presbyterians), and Miss Steele, Medley, Samuel Stennett, Ryland, Beddome, and Swaine (all Baptists), succeeded to them.

Among these writers (most of whom produced some hymns of merit, and several are extremely voluminous), Watts and Doddridge are pre-eminent. It has been the fashion with some to disparage Watts, as if he had never risen above the level of

his *Hymns for little Children.* No doubt his taste is often faulty, and his style very unequal; but, looking to the good, and disregarding the large quantity of inferior matter, it is probable that more hymns which approach to a very high standard of excellence, and are at the same time suitable for congregational use, may be found in his works than in those of any other English writer. Such are "*When I survey the wondrous cross*," "*Jesus shall reign where'er the sun*," "*Before Jehovah's awful throne*" (which first line, however, is not his, but Wesley's), "*Joy to the world, the Lord is come*," "*My soul, repeat His praise*," "*Why do we mourn departing friends*," "*There is a land of pure delight*," "*Our God, our help in ages past*," "*Up to the hills I lift mine eyes*," and many more. It is true that in some of these cases dross is found in the original poems mixed with gold; but the process of separation, by selection without change, is not difficult. As long as pure nervous English, unaffected fervour, strong simplicity, and liquid yet manly sweetness are admitted to be char-

acteristics of a good hymn, works such as these must command admiration.

Of the examples which follow, one has been chosen for the sake of comparison with other compositions upon the same subject, and the other, because it may not be so generally known as it deserves to be.

(1) *Advent Hymn* (Psalm xcviii.)

Joy to the world ; the Lord is come ;
Let earth receive her King ;
Let every heart prepare Him room,
And Heaven and Nature sing.

Joy to the earth ; the Saviour reigns ;
Let men their songs employ,
While fields and floods, rocks, hills, and plains
Repeat the sounding joy.

No more let sins and sorrows grow,
Nor thorns infest the ground :
He comes to make His blessings flow
Far as the curse is found.

He rules the world with Truth and Grace,
And makes the Nations prove
The glories of His Righteousness
And wonders of His love.

(2) *Morning Hymn*

God of the morning, at whose voice
The cheerful sun makes haste to rise,
And like a giant doth rejoice
To run his journey through the skies ;

From the fair chambers of the East
The circuit of his race begins,
And without weariness or rest
Round the whole earth he flies and shines.

O like the sun may I fulfil
Th' appointed duties of the day,
With ready mind and active will
March on, and keep my heavenly way.

But I shall rove and lose the race,
If God, my Sun, should disappear,
And leave me in this world's wild maze
To follow every wandering star.

Lord, Thy commands are clean and pure,
Enlightening our beclouded eyes,
Thy threatenings just, Thy promise sure,
Thy Gospel makes the simple wise.

Give me Thy counsel for my guide,
And then receive me to Thy bliss :
All my desires and hopes beside
Are faint and cold, compar'd with this.

To these (which are complete works, unaltered and unabridged) may be added two specimens of the excellent parts of some compositions, in which they are mixed with prosaic and commonplace matter.

(3) *From Version of Psalm lxxii.* (First Part)

As Rain on meadows newly mown,
So shall He send His influence down :
His grace on fainting souls distils,
Like heavenly Dew on thirsty hills.

The heathen lands, that lie beneath
The shades of over-spreading death,
Revive at His first dawning light,
And deserts blossom at the sight.[4]

The Saints shall flourish in His days,
Drest in the robes of joy and praise;
Peace, like a River, from His Throne
Shall flow to Nations yet unknown.

(4) *Heavenly Joy on Earth*

Come, we that love the Lord,
And let our joys be known;
Join in a song with sweet accord,
And thus surround the Throne.

The men of grace have found
Glory begun below;
Celestial fruits on earthly ground
From Faith and Hope may grow.

The hill of Zion yields
A thousand sacred sweets,
Ere yet we reach the heavenly fields,
Or walk the golden streets.

Then let our songs abound,
And every tear be dry:
We're marching through Emmanuel's ground
To fairer worlds on high.

Doddridge is, generally, more laboured and artificial; but his place also as a hymn-writer ought to be determined, not by his failures, but by his successes, of

which the number is not inconsiderable. In his better works he is distinguished by a graceful and pointed, sometimes even a noble style.

Among other good examples, "*Ye golden lamps of Heaven, farewell*," "*To-morrow, Lord, is Thine*," and that which, in a form slightly varied, became the "*O God of Bethel, by whose hand*" of the Scotch paraphrases, deserve mention. Doddridge's hymn, entitled "*Christ's Message*," is in the original less forcible, because of the addition of two weak stanzas; but when these are omitted, it is as sweet, vigorous, and perfect a composition as can anywhere be found. That entitled "*God's care a remedy for ours*" well represents his softer manner.

(1) "*Christ's Message*" (five of seven stanzas)

Hark the glad sound! the Saviour comes!
The Saviour promised long!
Let every heart prepare a throne,
And every voice a song.

He comes the prisoners to release,
In Satan's bondage held;
The gates of brass before Him burst,
The iron fetters yield.

He comes from thickest films of vice
To clear the mental ray,
And on the eye-balls of the blind
To pour celestial Day.

He comes, the broken heart to bind,
The bleeding soul to cure,
And with the treasures of His grace
T' enrich the humble poor.

Our glad hosannas, Prince of Peace,
Thy welcome shall proclaim,
And Heav'n's eternal arches ring
With Thy belovèd Name.

(2) *"God's care a remedy for ours"*

How gentle God's commands,
How kind His precepts are!
Come, cast your burdens on the Lord,
And trust His constant care.

While Providence supports,
Let saints securely dwell:
That Hand, which bears all Nature up,
Shall guide His children well.

Why should this anxious load
Press down your weary mind?
Haste to your heavenly Father's throne,
And sweet refreshment find.

His goodness stands approved
Down to the present day;
I'll drop my burden at His feet,
And bear a song away.

Of the other followers in the school of Watts, Miss Steele (1780) is the most

popular, and perhaps the best. Her hymn beginning "*Far from these narrow scenes of night*" deserves high praise, even by the side of other good performances on the same subject.

The influence of Watts was felt in Scotland, and among the first whom it reached there was Ralph Erskine. This seems to have been after the publication of Erskine's *Gospel Sonnets*, which appeared in 1732, five years before he joined his brother Ebenezer in the Secession Church. The *Gospel Sonnets* became (as some have said) a "people's classic"; but there is in them very little which belongs to the category of hymnody. More than nineteen-twentieths of this curious book are occupied with what are, in fact, theological treatises and catechisms, mystical meditations on Christ as a Bridegroom or Husband, and spiritual enigmas, paradoxes, and antithetical conceits, versified, it is true, but of a quality of which such lines as

> Faith's certain by fiducial acts,
> Sense by its evidential facts,

may be taken as a sample. The grains of

poetry scattered through this large mass of Calvinistic divinity are very few; yet in one short passage the fire burns with a brightness so remarkable as to justify a strong feeling of regret, that the gift which this writer evidently had in him was not more often cultivated.

O send me down a draught of love,
Or take me hence to drink above!
Here, Marah's water fills my cup;
But there all griefs are swallowed up.

Love here is scarce a faint desire;
But there, the spark's a flaming fire;
Joys here are drops, that passing flee;
But there, an overflowing sea.

My faith, that sees so darkly here,
Will there resign to vision clear;
My hope, that here's a weary groan,
Will to fruition yield the throne.

Here fetters hamper freedom's wing;
But there, the captive is a king;
And grace is like a buried seed;
But sinners there are saints indeed.

My portion here's a crumb at best;
But there, the Lamb's eternal feast;
My praise is now a smother'd fire;
But there, I'll sing and never tire.

Another passage, not so well sustained, but of considerable beauty (part of the last

piece under the title "*The Believer's Soliloquy*"), became afterwards, in the hands of Berridge, the foundation of a very striking hymn.

O happy saints, who dwell in light,
And walk with Jesus, clothed in white;
Safe landed on that peaceful shore
Where pilgrims meet to part no more.

Released from sin, and toil, and grief,
Death was their gate to endless life;
An open'd cage, to let them fly
And build their happy nest on high.

And now they range the heavenly plains
And sing their hymns in melting strains;
And now their souls begin to prove
The heights and depths of Jesus' love.

He cheers them with eternal smile;
They sing hosannas all the while;
Or, overwhelmed with rapture sweet,
Sink down adoring at His feet.

Ah, Lord! with tardy steps I creep,
And sometimes sing, and sometimes weep:
Yet strip me of this house of clay,
And I will sing as loud as they.

After his secession, Ralph Erskine published two paraphrases of the "Song of Solomon," and a number of other "Scripture songs," paraphrased, in like manner, from the Old and New Testaments. In these the

influence of Watts became very apparent, not only by a change in the writer's general style, but by the direct appropriation of no small quantity of matter from Dr. Watts's hymns, with variations which were not always improvements. His paraphrases of 1 Cor. i. 24, Gal. vi. 14, Heb. vi. 17-19, Rev. v. 11, 12, vii. 10-17, and xii. 7-12 are little else than Watts transformed. One of these (Rev. vii. 10-17) is interesting as a variation and improvement, intermediate between the original and the form which it assumed in 1782 as the 66th "Paraphrase" of the Church of Scotland, of Watts's "*What happy men or angels these*," and "*These glorious minds, how bright they shine.*" No one can compare it with its ultimate product without perceiving that Cameron followed Erskine, and only added finish and grace to his work,—both excelling Watts, in this instance, in simplicity as well as conciseness.

How bright these glorious spirits shine!
Whence all their white array?
How came they to the blissful seats
Of everlasting day?

Lo! these are they from sufferings great,
Who came to realms of light,
And in the blood of Christ have wash'd
Those robes which shine so bright.

Now with triumphal palms they stand
Before the throne on high,
And serve the God they love, amidst
The glories of the sky.

His presence fills each heart with joy,
Tunes every mouth to sing;
By day, by night, the sacred courts
With glad hosannas ring.

Hunger and thirst are felt no more,
Nor suns with scorching ray;
God is their sun, whose cheering beams
Diffuse eternal day.

The Lamb which dwells amidst the throne
Shall o'er them still preside;
Feed them with nourishment divine,
And all their footsteps guide.

'Mong pastures green He'll lead His flock,
Where living streams appear;
And God the Lord from every eye
Shall wipe off every tear.

Of the contributions to the authorised "Paraphrases," (with the settlement of which committees of the General Assembly of the Church of Scotland were occupied from 1745 or earlier till 1781), the most

noteworthy (besides the two already mentioned) were those of John Morrison and those claimed for Michael Bruce. The obligations of these "Paraphrases" to English hymnody, already traced in some instances (to which may be added the adoption from Addison of three out of the five "hymns" appended to them), are perceptible in the vividness and force with which these writers, while adhering with a severe simplicity to the sense of the passages of Scripture which they undertook to render, fulfilled the conception of a good original hymn. "*The race that long in darkness pined*" and "*Come, let us to the Lord our God*," by Morrison, and "*Where high the heavenly temple stands*" (whether this is by Logan or Michael Bruce), are well entitled to that praise. The advocates of Bruce in the controversy, not yet closed, as to the poems said to have been entrusted by him to John Logan, and published by Logan in his own name, also claim for him the credit of having varied the paraphrase "*Behold, the mountain of the Lord*," from its original form, as printed by the committee of the

General Assembly in 1745, by some excellent touches.

Attention must now be directed to the hymns produced by the "Methodist" movement, which began about 1738, and which afterwards became divided between those esteemed Arminian, under John Wesley, those who adhered to the Moravians when the original alliance between that body and the founders of Methodism was dissolved, and the Calvinists, of whom Whitefield (himself no poet) was the leader, and Selina, Countess of Huntingdon, the patroness. Each of these sections had its own hymn-writers, some of whom did, and others did not, secede from the Church of England. The Wesleyans had Charles Wesley, Seagrave, Olivers, and Bakewell; the Moravians, Cennick and Hammond (with whom, perhaps, may be classed John Byrom, who imbibed the mystical ideas of some of the German schools); the Calvinists, Toplady, Berridge, William Williams, Madan, Batty, Haweis, Rowland Hill, John Newton, and Cowper.

Among all these writers, the palm undoubtedly belongs to Charles Wesley. In

the first volume of hymns published by the two brothers are several good translations from the German, believed to be by John Wesley, who, although he translated and adapted, is not supposed to have written any original hymns; and the influence of German hymnody, particularly of the works of Paul Gerhardt, Scheffler, Tersteegen, and Zinzendorf, may be traced in a large proportion of Charles Wesley's works. He is more subjective and meditative than Watts and his school; there is a didactic turn, even in his most objective pieces (as, for example, in his Christmas and Easter hymns); most of his works are supplicatory, and his defects are connected with the same habit of mind. He is apt to repeat the same thoughts, and to lose force by redundancy—he runs sometimes even to a tedious length; his hymns are not always symmetrically constructed, or well balanced and finished off. But he has great truth, depth, and variety of feeling; his diction is manly, and always to the point; never florid, though sometimes passionate and not free from exaggeration; often vivid and pictur-

esque. Of his spirited manner some of the best known examples are "*O for a thousand tongues to sing*," "*Rejoice, the Lord is King*," and "*Come, let us join our friends above*"; of his more tender vein, "*Happy soul, thy days are ended.*" With those whose taste is for hymns in which warm religious feelings are warmly and demonstratively expressed, "*Jesus, Lover of my soul*" is as popular as any of his works.

In the vein most characteristic of him—fervent and contemplative—nothing is better than the poem ("*Come, O Thou Traveller unknown,*") founded on the wrestling of Jacob with the Angel at Penuel. The following are good, as well as short, specimens of his objective and subjective styles:—

(1)

Blow ye the trumpet, blow
The gladly solemn sound;
Let all the nations know,
To earth's remotest bound,
The year of Jubilee is come;
Return, ye ransomed sinners, home.

Jesus, our great High Priest,
Hath full atonement made:
Ye weary spirits, rest;
Ye mournful souls, be glad:

The year of Jubilee is come;
Return, ye ransomed sinners, home.

Extol the Lamb of God,
The all-atoning Lamb;
Redemption through His blood
Throughout the world proclaim:
The year of Jubilee is come;
Return, ye ransomed sinners, home.

Ye slaves of sin and hell,
Your liberty receive,
And safe in Jesus dwell,
And blest in Jesus live:
The year of Jubilee is come;
Return, ye ransomed sinners, home.

Ye who have sold for nought
Your heritage above,
Shall have it back unbought,
The gift of Jesus' love:
The year of Jubilee is come;
Return, ye ransomed sinners, home.

The Gospel trumpet hear,
The news of heavenly grace,
And, saved from earth, appear
Before your Saviour's face:
The year of Jubilee is come;
Return, ye ransomed sinners, home.

(2)

O Thou, who camest from above,
The pure celestial fire t' impart,
Kindle a flame of sacred love
On the mean altar of my heart!

There let it for Thy glory burn
With inextinguishable blaze,
And, trembling, to its source return
In humble prayer and fervent praise.

Jesus! confirm my heart's desire
To work, and speak, and think for Thee;
Still let me guard the holy fire,
And still stir up Thy gift in me;

Ready for all Thy perfect will,
My acts of faith and love repeat,
Till death Thy endless mercies seal,
And make my sacrifice complete.

Of the other Wesleyan hymn-writers, Olivers (originally a Welsh shoemaker, afterwards a preacher) is the most remarkable. He is the author of only two works, both odes, in a stately metre, and from their length unfit for congregational singing; but one of them, "*The God of Abraham praise*," an ode of singular power and beauty.

The Moravian Methodists produced few hymns now available for general use. The best are Cennick's "*Children of the heavenly King*," and Hammond's "*Awake and sing the song of Moses and the Lamb*," the former of which (abridged), and the latter as varied by Madan, are found in many hymn-books, and are deservedly

esteemed. Byrom, whose name it is convenient to connect with these, though he did not belong to the Moravian community, was the author of a Christmas hymn ("*Christians awake, salute the happy morn*") which enjoys great popularity in the county (Lancashire) of which he was a native; and also of a short subjective hymn, very fine both in feeling and in expression, "*My spirit longeth for Thee within my troubled breast.*"

The contributions of the Calvinistic Methodists to English hymnody are of greater extent and value. Few writers of hymns had higher gifts than Augustus Montague Toplady, author of "*Rock of Ages*," known to everybody, and by some esteemed the finest in the English language. He was a man of ardent temperament, enthusiastic zeal, strong convictions, and great energy of character. "He had," says one of his biographers, "the courage of a lion, but his frame was brittle as glass." Between him and John Wesley there was a violent opposition of opinion, and much acrimonious controversy; but the same

fervour and zeal which made him an intemperate theologian gave warmth, richness, and spirituality to his poems; few of which, however, have the character of hymns suitable for divine worship. In some of them (particularly those which, like "*Deathless principle, arise,*" are meditations after the German manner, and not without direct obligation to German originals) the setting is too artificial; but his art is never inconsistent with a genuine flow of real feeling. Others fail to sustain to the end the beauty with which they began, and would have been better for abridgment.

Our extracts, which are taken from works to which these observations are applicable, exhibit the grace and tenderness of thought and language, and the easy and harmonious versification, of which Toplady was capable.

(1) From "*Deathless Principle,*" etc.

Is thy earthly house distrest,
Willing to retain her guest?
'Tis not thou, but she, must die;
Fly, celestial tenant, fly!

Burst thy shackles, drop thy clay,
Sweetly breathe thyself away;

Singing, to thy crown remove,
Swift of wing, and fired with love.

Shudder not to pass the stream;
Venture all thy care on Him;
Him, whose dying love and power
Still'd its tossing, hush'd its roar.

Safe is the expanded wave,
Gentle as a summer's eve;
Not one object of His care
Ever suffered shipwreck there.

See the haven full in view;
Love Divine shall bear thee through;
Trust in that propitious gale;
Weigh thy anchor, spread thy sail.

(2) *Written in his last illness*

When languor and disease invade
This trembling house of clay,
'Tis sweet to look beyond the cage,
And long to fly away:

Sweet to look inward, and attend
The whispers of His love;
Sweet to look upward to the place
Where Jesus pleads above:

Sweet to look back, and see my Name
In life's fair book set down;
Sweet to look forward, and behold
Eternal joys my own:

Sweet to reflect, how Grace Divine
My sins on Jesus laid;
Sweet to remember, that His blood
My debt of sufferings paid:

Sweet in His Righteousness to stand
Which saves from second death;
Sweet to experience, day by day,
His Spirit's quickening breath:

Sweet on His faithfulness to rest
Whose love can never end;
Sweet on His covenant of grace
For all things to depend:

Sweet in the confidence of faith
To trust His firm decrees;
Sweet to lie passive in His hands
And know no will but His:

Sweet to rejoice in lively hope
That, when my change shall come,
Angels will hover round my bed,
And waft my spirit home.

Berridge, Williams, and Rowland Hill (all men remarkable for eccentricity, activity, and the devotion of their lives to the special work of missionary preaching), though not the authors of many good hymns, composed, or adapted from earlier compositions, some of great merit. One of Berridge, adapted from Erskine, has been already mentioned; another, adapted from Watts, is "*Jesus, cast a look on me.*" Williams, a Welshman (who wrote "*Guide me, O Thou great Jehovah*"), was especially an apostle of Calvinistic Methodism in

his own country, and his hymns are still much used in the principality. Rowland Hill wrote the popular hymn beginning "*Exalted high at God's right hand.*"

If, however, the number as well as the quality of good hymns available for general use is to be regarded, the authors of the "Olney Hymns" are entitled to be placed at the head of all the writers of this Calvinistic school. The greater number of the Olney Hymns are, no doubt, homely and didactic; but to the best of them (and they are no inconsiderable proportion) the tenderness of Cowper and the manliness of Newton give the interest of contrast, as well as that of sustained reality. If Newton carried to some excess the sound principle laid down by him, that "perspicuity, simplicity, and ease should be chiefly attended to, and the imagery and colouring of poetry, if admitted at all, should be indulged very sparingly and with great judgment,"—if he is often dry and colloquial,—he rises at other times into "soul-animating strains," such as "*Glorious things of thee are spoken, Zion, city of our God*"; and sometimes (as in the

following) rivals Cowper himself in depth of feeling.

Approach, my soul, the mercy-seat
Where Jesus answers prayer;
There humbly fall before His feet,
For none can perish there.

Thy promise is my only plea,
With this I venture nigh;
Thou callest burdened souls to Thee,
And such, O Lord, am I.

Bow'd down beneath a load of sin,
By Satan sorely prest,
By war without, and fears within,
I come to Thee for rest.

Be Thou my shield and hiding-place,
That, shelter'd near Thy side,
I may my fierce accuser face,
And tell him, Thou hast died!

O wondrous love! to bleed and die,
To bear the cross and shame,
That guilty sinners, such as I,
Might plead Thy gracious Name!

Cowper's hymns in this book are, almost without exception, worthy of his name. Among them are "*There is a fountain filled with blood*," "*Far from the world, O Lord, I flee*," "*God moves in a mysterious way*," and "*Sometimes a light surprises.*"

Some, perhaps, even of these, and others of equal excellence (such as "*O for a closer walk with God*"), speak the language of a special experience, which, in Cowper's case, was only too real; but which could not (without a degree of unreality not desirable in exercises of public worship) be applied to themselves by all ordinary Christians.

Of his contributions to the Olney Hymns, this is perhaps the best :—

Hark, my soul! it is the Lord;
'Tis thy Saviour, hear His word;
Jesus speaks, and speaks to thee:
"Say, poor sinner, lov'st thou Me?

"I delivered thee when bound,
And, when bleeding, heal'd thy wound,
Sought thee wandering, set thee right,
Turn'd thy darkness into light.

"Can a woman's tender care
Cease towards the child she bare?
Yes, she may forgetful be;
Yet will I remember thee.

"Mine is an unchanging love,
Higher than the heights above;
Deeper than the depths beneath,
Free and faithful, strong as death.

"Thou shalt see My glory soon,
When the work of grace is done;
Partner of My throne shalt be:
Say, poor sinner, lov'st thou Me?"

Lord, it is my chief complaint
That my love is weak and faint;
Yet I love Thee and adore,
O for grace to love Thee more!

During the first quarter of the present century there were not many indications of the tendency, which afterwards became manifest, to enlarge the boundaries of British hymnody. A few, indeed, of Bishop Heber's hymns, and those of Sir Robert Grant (which, though offending rather too much against John Newton's canon, are well known and popular), appeared between 1811 and 1816, in the *Christian Observer*. In John Bowdler's *Remains*, published soon after his death in 1815, there are a few more of the same, perhaps too scholarlike, character. But the chief hymn-writers of that period were two clergymen of the Established Church — one in Ireland, Thomas Kelly, and the other in England, William Hurn — who both became Non-conformists; and the Moravian poet, James Montgomery, a native of Scotland. In their works the subjective element is much less prominent than in those of the Methodist poets.

Kelly was the son of an Irish judge, and in 1804 published a small volume of ninety-six hymns, which grew in successive editions till, in the last before his death in 1854, they amounted to 765. There is (as might be expected) in this great number a large preponderance of the didactic and commonplace. But not a few very excellent hymns may be gathered from them. Simple and natural, without the vivacity and terseness of Watts or the severity of Newton, Kelly has some points in common with both those writers.

Some of his hymns have a rich melodious movement; others are distinguished by a calm subdued power, sometimes (as in the second of the two here extracted) rising from a rather low to a very high key.

(1)

Lo! He comes! let all adore Him!
'Tis the God of grace and truth!
Go! prepare the way before Him,
Make the rugged places smooth!
Lo! He comes, the mighty Lord!
Great His work, and His reward.

Let the valleys all be raisèd;
Go, and make the crooked straight;

Let the mountains be abasèd ;
Let all nature change its state ;
Through the desert mark a road,
Make a highway for our God.

Through the desert God is going,
Through the desert waste and wild,
Where no goodly plant is growing,
Where no verdure ever smiled ;
But the desert shall be glad,
And with verdure soon be clad.

Where the thorn and briar flourish'd,
Trees shall there be seen to grow,
Planted by the Lord and nourish'd,
Stately, fair, and fruitful too ;
They shall rise on every side,
They shall spread their branches wide.

From the hills and lofty mountains
Rivers shall be seen to flow,
There the Lord will open fountains,
Thence supply the plains below.
As He passes, every land
Shall confess His powerful hand.

(2)

We sing the praise of Him who died,
Of Him who died upon the Cross ;
The sinner's hope let men deride,
For this we count the world but loss.

Inscribed upon the Cross we see,
In shining letters, God is Love ;
He bears our sins upon the tree ;
He brings us mercy from above.

The Cross! it takes our guilt away;
It holds the fainting spirit up;
It cheers with hope the gloomy day,
And sweetens every bitter cup.

It makes the coward spirit brave,
And nerves the feeble arm for fight;
It takes its terror from the grave,
And gilds the bed of death with light:

The balm of life, the cure of woe,
The measure and the pledge of love,
The sinners' refuge here below,
The angels' theme in Heaven above.

Hurn published in 1813 a volume of 370 hymns, which were increased after his secession to 420. There is little in them which deserves to be saved from oblivion; but one at least, "*There is a river deep and broad*," may bear comparison with the best of those which have been produced upon the same (and it is rather a favourite) theme.

The *Psalms and Hymns* of James Montgomery were published in 1822 and 1825, though written earlier. More cultivated and artistic than Kelly, he is less simple. He was the precursor (though it is not probable that he had many conscious imitators) of a more laboured

and ornate style than had been, down to that time, common among English hymn-writers. The number of his valuable contributions to our hymnals is, upon the whole, considerable; and, though it may be doubted whether he ever attains to the first rank, all must acknowledge that he stands high in the second.

The following are among his more successful efforts; though "*A poor wayfaring man of grief*" (not a hymn) is perhaps his most excellent work.

(1)

Palms of glory, raiment bright,
Crowns that never fade away,
Gird and deck the saints in light,
Priests and kings and conquerors they.

Yet the conquerors bring their palms
To the Lamb amidst the throne,
And proclaim in joyful psalms
Victory through His cross alone.

Kings for harps their crowns resign,
Crying, as they strike the chords,
"Take the kingdom, it is Thine,
King of kings, and Lord of lords!"

Round the altar priests confess,
If their robes are white as snow,
'Twas the Saviour's righteousness
And His blood that made them so.

Who were these? On earth they dwelt,
Sinners once, of Adam's race;
Guilt and fear and suffering felt;
But were saved by sovereign grace.

They were mortal, too, like us:
Ah! when we, like them, must die,
May our souls, translated thus,
Triumph, reign, and shine on high!

(2)

For ever with the Lord!
Amen! so let it be!
Life from the dead is in that word,
'Tis immortality.

Here in the body pent
Absent from Him I roam,
Yet nightly pitch my moving tent
A day's march nearer home.

My Father's house on high,
Home of my soul! how near,
At times, to faith's foreseeing eye,
Thy golden gates appear!

Ah! then my spirit faints
To reach the land I love,
The bright inheritance of saints,
Jerusalem above.

Yet clouds will intervene,
And all my prospect flies;
Like Noah's dove, I flit between
Rough seas and stormy skies.

Anon the clouds depart;
The winds and waters cease;

While sweetly o'er my gladden'd heart
Expands the bow of peace:

Beneath its glowing arch,
Along the hallow'd ground,
I see cherubic armies march,
A camp of fire around:

I hear at morn and even,
At noon and midnight hour,
The choral harmonies of heaven
Earth's Babel tongues o'erpower.

Then, then I feel that He,
Remember'd or forgot,
The Lord, is never far from me,
Though I perceive Him not.

Another voluminous writer, who may properly be associated with these, though his earliest publication was in 1831, is William Hiley Bathurst, nephew of the first Lord Sidmouth,—like Hurn, an English clergyman of the Evangelical school, who became a dissenter. It has been said[1] of him, that he does not in any instance rise above the ordinary level of passable "hymn-writing;"—an opinion which does him less than justice; for the following is of more than ordinary merit:—

[1] Julian's *Dictionary of Hymnology*, p. 118.

O Saviour, may we never rest
Till Thou art formed within,
Till Thou hast calm'd our troubled breast
And crushed the power of sin.

O may we gaze upon Thy cross
Until the wondrous sight
Makes earthly treasures seem but dross,
And earthly sorrows light :

Until, released from carnal ties,
Our spirit upward springs,
And sees true peace above the skies,
True joy in heavenly things.

There, as we gaze, may we become
United, Lord, to Thee ;
And in a fairer, happier home
Thy perfect beauty see !

During the same first quarter of the present century, the collections of miscellaneous hymns for congregational use, of which the example was set by the Wesleys, Whitefield, Toplady, and Lady Huntingdon, had greatly multiplied ; and with them the practice (for which, indeed, too many precedents existed in the history of Latin and German hymnody) of every collector altering the compositions of other men without scruple, to suit his own doctrine or taste ; with the effect, too generally, of patching and disfiguring, spoiling and emasculating, the works so

altered ; substituting neutral tints for natural colouring, and a dead for a living sense. In the Church of England, the use of these collections had become frequent in churches and chapels (principally in cities and towns) where the sentiments of the clergy approximated to those of Nonconformists. In rural parishes, when the clergy were not of the "Evangelical" school, they were generally held in disfavour ; for which (even if doctrinal prepossessions had not entered into the question) the great want of taste and judgment often manifested in their compilation, and perhaps also the prevailing mediocrity of the bulk of the original compositions from which most of them were derived, might be enough to account. In addition to this, the idea that no hymns ought to be used in any services of the Church of England (except prose anthems after the third Collect), without express royal or ecclesiastical authority, continued down to that time to prevail among churchmen of the higher school. In Scotland also, the idea that nothing ought to be sung except the versified Psalms and those para-

phrases and hymns which received the sanction of the General Assembly in 1782, still held its ground in the Established Church.

Two publications, which appeared almost simultaneously in 1827,—Bishop Heber's *Hymns*, with a few added by Dean Milman, and Keble's *Christian Year* (not a hymn-book, but one from which several admirable hymns have been taken, and the well-spring of many streams of thought and feeling by which good hymns have since been produced),—introduced a new epoch; breaking down the barrier as to hymnody which had till then existed between the different theological schools of the Church of England. In this movement Bishop Mant and Henry Francis Lyte were among the first to co-operate.

Of Bishop Heber's hymns, one ("*I praised the earth, in beauty seen*") may be ranked with Addison's "*The spacious firmament on high*," as of nearly equal excellence; and four others ("*Holy, holy, holy, Lord God Almighty*," "*The Son of God goes forth to war*," "*Hosanna to the living Lord*," and "*From Greenland's icy mountains*") are

universally popular. Keble, besides the evening hymn and others taken from the *Christian Year*, contributed to our books an ordination hymn, "*Lord, in Thy name Thy servants plead*," and "*The voice that breathed o'er Eden*"—perhaps the only good marriage hymn in our language. Lyte's "*Spirit of the Psalms*," published in 1834, justifies its title by many works of a high order of merit; and although few of his other pieces can strictly be called hymns, one of them, "*Abide with me, fast falls the eventide*," competes for the palm with the evening hymns of Ken and Keble, from both which it differs much in character.

The movement, thus begun, received a great additional impulse from the increased attention which, about the same time, began to be paid to ancient hymnody, and from the publication in 1833 of Bunsen's *Gesangbuch*. Among its earliest fruits was the *Lyra Apostolica*, containing hymns, sonnets, and other devotional poems, most of them contributed by some of the leading authors of the *Tracts for the Times* to the "British Magazine"; the finest of

which is the pathetic "*Lead, kindly Light, amid th' encircling gloom*," by John Henry (afterwards Cardinal) Newman,—well known, and universally admired. From that time hymns and hymn-writers rapidly multiplied in the Church of England, and in Scotland also, (to which country the same change of sentiment and practice extended itself, though more slowly); and their number is still on the increase. Nearly 600 authors, whose publications were later than 1827, are enumerated in Mr. Sedgwick's catalogue of 1863, and many more have since appeared. Works, critical and historical, upon the subject of hymns have also multiplied; and collections for church use have become innumerable;—several of the various religious denominations, and many of the leading ecclesiastical and religious societies, having issued hymn-books of their own, in addition to those compiled for particular dioceses, churches, and chapels, and to books (like *Hymns Ancient and Modern*, and Bishop E. H. Bickersteth's *Hymnal Companion to the Book of Common Prayer*), which have

become popular without any sanction from authority. In these more recent collections, an improved standard of taste has become generally apparent. There is a larger and more liberal admission of good hymns from all sources, than might have been expected from the jealousy, so often felt by churches, parties, and denominations, of everything which does not bear their own mint-mark; a considerable (perhaps too large) use of translations, especially from the Latin; and an increased (though not as yet sufficient) scrupulousness about tampering with the text of other men's works. To mention all the authors of good hymns since the commencement of this new epoch would be impossible. They belong chiefly to two schools: the one polished and ornate, with various degrees of art and distinctions of style; the other tender and emotional. Of the former, James Montgomery, Sir Robert Grant, Bishop Heber, and Dean Milman, may be regarded as the founders; and in it may be ranked Joseph Anstice ("*Lord of the harvest, once again*," etc.); Josiah Conder ("*The Lord is King, lift up thy voice*," etc.);

Dean Alford ("*Come, ye thankful people, come*," etc.); Sir Henry Baker ("*There is a blessed Home*," etc.); William Chatterton Dix ("*As with gladness men of old*," etc.); John Ellerton ("*Saviour, again to Thy dear Name we raise*," etc.); Godfrey Thring ("*The radiant morn hath passed away*," and "*Thou to Whom the sick and dying*," etc.); Henry Twells ("*At even, when the sun was set*"); William Whiting ("*Eternal Father, strong to save*"); Samuel John Stone ("*Weary of earth and laden with my sin*," and "*The Church's one Foundation*," etc.); Matthew Bridges ("*Crown Him with many crowns*," etc.); Sabine Baring-Gould ("*Onward, Christian soldiers*," and "*Through the night of doubt and sorrow*," etc.); Caroline Maria Noel ("*At the Name of Jesus*"); Frances Ridley Havergal ("*Tell it out among the heathen that the Lord is King*," etc.); Mrs. Cecil Frances Alexander ("*The roseate hues of early dawn*," etc.); Mrs. Emma Toke ("*Thou art gone up on high*," etc.); John Mason Neale ("*Art thou weary, art thou languid*," and "*The day, O Lord, is spent*," etc.); Bishop Christopher Wordsworth ("*See*

the Conqueror mounts in triumph," and "*O Lord of heaven and earth and sea*," etc.); Archbishop Maclagan ("*The saints of God, their conflicts o'er*"); and Bishop How ("*For all the saints who from their labours rest*," etc.). In the softer school, (besides Lyte), James Edmeston ("*Lead us, Heavenly Father, lead us*," etc.); Frederic William Faber ("*Sweet Saviour, bless us ere we go*," etc.); Bishop Edward Henry Bickersteth ("*O Jesu, Saviour of the lost*," etc.); Charlotte Elliott ("*My God and Father, while I stray*," and "*Just as I am, without one plea*," etc.); Horatius Bonar ("*I heard the voice of Jesus say*," and "*Thy way, not mine, O Lord*," etc.), are pre-eminent. These names fairly represent the qualities characteristic of each school. Some of them certainly reach a high standard of excellence; but the more tender are sometimes deficient in strength, and the more forcible in simplicity. To criticise in this place the works of living or recent authors, which are on everybody's lips, and in everybody's hands, would be an endless task; and a greater lapse of time than has yet taken

place is really necessary for an impartial and accurate judgment of them.

What has been said of British hymnody during the last fifty years is equally true of American. The American hymn-writers belong to the same schools, and have been affected by the same influences. Some of them enjoy a just reputation on both sides of the Atlantic. Among those best known are Bishop Doane, Dr. Muhlenberg, and Mr. Thomas Hastings; and it is difficult to praise too highly such works as the Christmas hymn, "*It came upon the midnight clear*," by Mr. Edmund H. Sears; the Ascension hymn, "*Thou, who didst stoop below*," by Mrs. Elizabeth Miles; and two by Dr. Ray Palmer, "*My faith looks up to Thee, Thou Lamb of Calvary*," and "*Jesus, Thou joy of loving hearts*;" the latter of which is the best among several good English versions of "*Jesu, dulcedo cordium*."[1]

[1] Among the authorities of which use has been made in the foregoing account of British Hymnody, are the Appendix on Scottish Psalmody in Mr. Laing's edition of Baillie's *Letters and Journals*; Mr. Holland's *Psalmists of Britain* (1843); Mr. Josiah Miller's *Our Hymns, their Authors and Origin* (1866); Mr. John Gadsby's *Memoirs of the*

7. Conclusion

The object aimed at in these pages has been to trace the general history of the principal schools of ancient and modern hymnody, and especially the history of its use in the Christian Church. For this purpose it has not been thought necessary to give any account of the hymns of Racine, Madame Guyon, and others, who can hardly be classed with any school, nor of the works of Cæsar Malan and other quite modern hymn-writers of the Reformed churches in Switzerland and France; nor of the hymns of any other country which has not contributed greatly to the growth or development

Principal Hymn-writers, etc. (3rd ed., 1861); the "Annotations" of the Rev. Louis Coutier Biggs to *Hymns Ancient and Modern* (1867); and the late Mr. Daniel Sedgwick's *Comprehensive Index of Names of original Authors of Hymns*, etc. (2nd ed., 1863). Mr. Sedgwick's name cannot be mentioned without special honour, as one of the most painstaking, sympathetic, and accurate of all modern students of British hymns.

[Since the above was written, Mr. Julian's *Dictionary of Hymnology* (Murray, 1892) has been published; a work of great accuracy and research, and the most elaborate and comprehensive which has yet appeared upon the subject in any language.]

of any national or ecclesiastical school of hymnody.

On a general view of the whole subject, hymnody is seen to have been a not inconsiderable factor in religious worship. It has been sometimes employed to disseminate and popularise particular views, and sometimes, when hardened into dogma, may have been the parent of error; but its spirit and influence have been Catholic, on the whole. In proportion to its spontaneousness and reality, to the predominance in it of meaning over sound and form (though form ought not to be neglected), and to the success with which it condenses the spiritual and practical application of Scripture, it may be an instrument of great power in religious education, taking hold of the imagination, and remaining long in the memory. Its power of kindling into great occasional brightness minds which do not often rise above mediocrity has been remarkable. As in the case of the Italian painters of Holy Families and other sacred subjects, "the constant enthusiastic contemplation of a few subjects, dear to the universal heart

of Christendom, and embodying the highest conceptions of Divine purity and beauty, has produced," in its more perfect results, "a simplicity, refinement, and spirituality of style, which never tires, notwithstanding its limited range." It represents the faith, trust, and hope, and no small part of the inward experience, of generation after generation of men, in many different countries and climates, of many different nations, and in many varieties of circumstances and condition. Coloured, indeed, by these differences, and also by the various modes in which the same truths have been apprehended by different minds (and sometimes reflecting partial and imperfect conceptions of them, and errors with which they have been associated in particular churches, times, and places), its testimony is, nevertheless, generally the same. It bears witness to "the force of a central attraction more powerful than all causes of difference, which binds together times ancient and modern, nations of various race and language, churchmen and nonconformists, churches reformed and unreformed;" to a true

fundamental unity among good Christians; and to a substantial identity in their moral and spiritual experience.[1]

[1] The words within marks of quotation are from the Preface to the Author's *Book of Praise.*

THE END

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